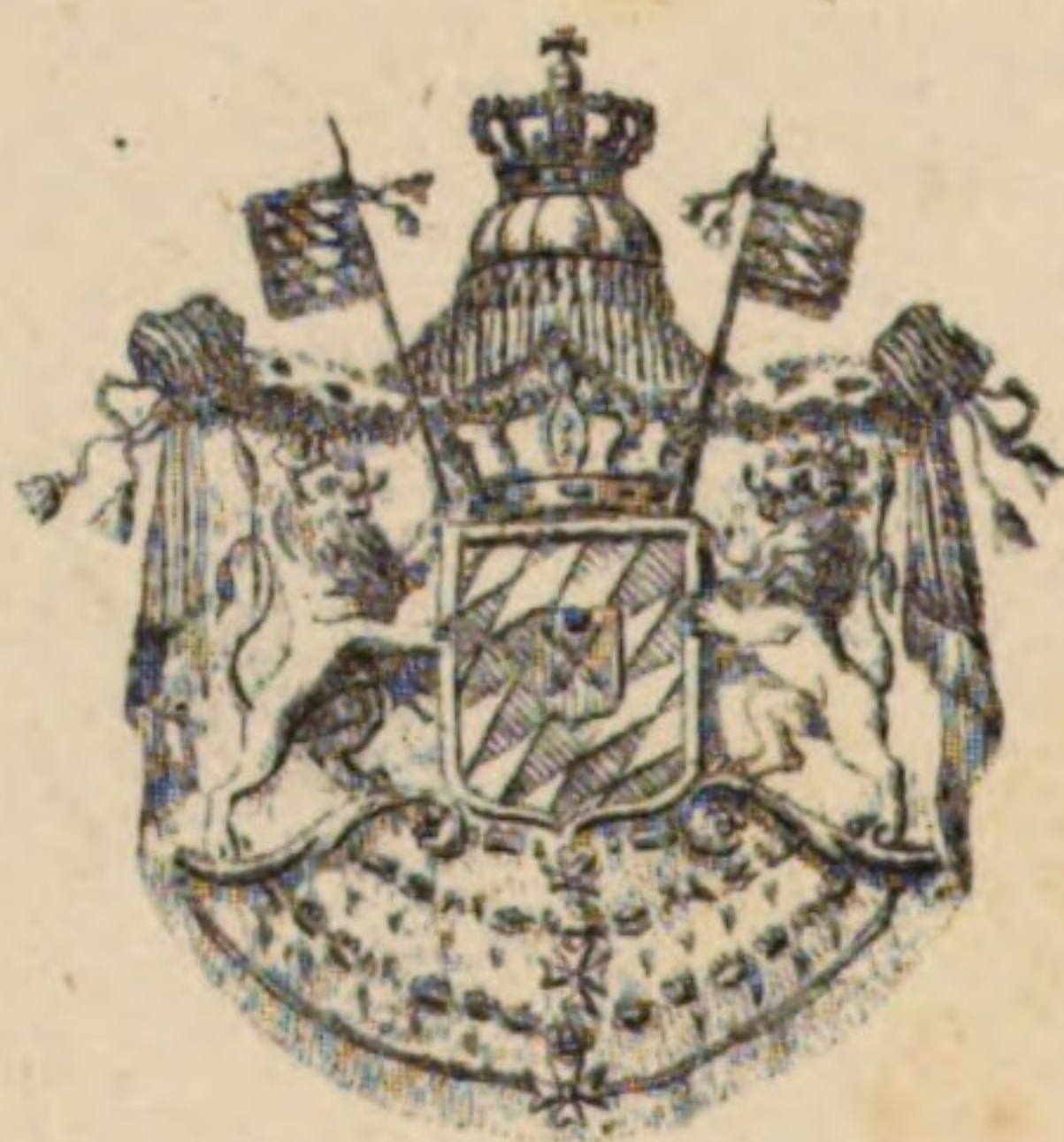




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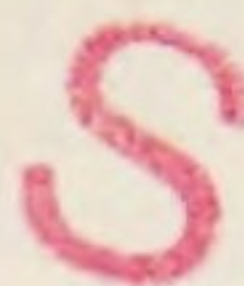


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LETTERS and JOURNALS,

Written by the deceased

Mr ROBERT BAILLIE,

Principal of the University of Glasgow.

Carefully-transcribed by ROBERT AIKEN.

Containing an impartial account of public transactions, Civil, Ecclesiastic, and Military, both in England and Scotland, from 1637 to 1662; a period, perhaps, the most remarkable that is to be met with in the British History.

W I T H

An Account of the Author's LIFE, prefixed;

A N D

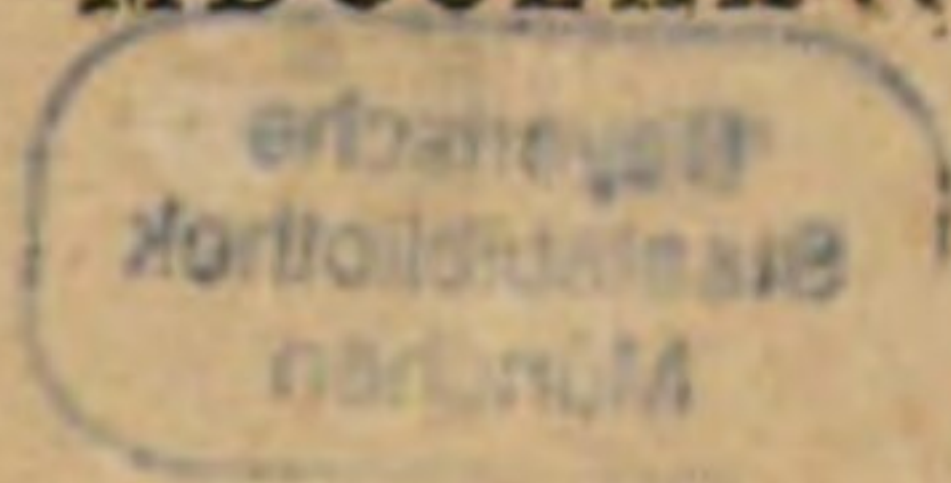
A GLOSSARY, annexed.

V O L. I.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for W. GRAY, Edinburgh; and J. BUCKLAND,
and G. KEITH, London.

MDCCLXXV.



LETTERS AND JOURNALS
OF
ADAM SMITH

THE following letters and journals
of Adam Smith are here published
for the first time. They were
written by him to his friends
and to himself, and are of great
value to the student of his
philosophy. They are here
published in the original
manuscript, and are
accompanied by a full and
correct translation into
English. The letters are
all dated, and are of great
interest. The journals are
also of great interest, and
show the progress of his
thoughts. The letters are
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thoughts.

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A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE following letters, and other papers, are carefully transcribed from the family-copy, in the possession of Matthew Baillie of Carnbroe, Esq; Principal Baillie's lineal male descendent. The copy preserved among the archives of the church of Scotland has likewise been consulted.

There are a few chasms, which, as they could not be supplied from the author's own papers, it was not thought expedient to supply from any other history of that period.

It was thought proper to leave out some things that related to the author's family and other private matters; but nothing has been left out that throws the smallest light upon the history of those times.

The reader will easily forgive, or rather overlook, some inaccuracies, (which are always to be expected in an epistolary correspondence); as truth, not elegance of composition, is the best recommendation of history.

Mr Baillie's chief correspondents were, Mr William Spang, minister first to the Scots Staple at Campvere, and afterwards to the English congregation in Middleburg in Zeeland, who was his cousin-german; Mr David Dickson, professor of divinity, first at Glasgow, then at Edinburgh; and Mess. Robert

iv A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Ramfay and George Young, who were ministers in Glasgow.

If these two volumes be well received, the publisher has as many collateral letters and papers, never before published, as will make another volume.

Principal Baillie's character, and his conduct in public life, will be seen in his letters; so that the following short account of his life may here suffice.

A Table of some Errata is prefixed, and a Glossary is annexed, to the second volume.

Some

Some ACCOUNT of Mr BAILLIE'S LIFE.

Taken from the archives of the Church of Scotland.

MR ROBERT BAILLIE was the son of Mr Thomas Baillie, a citizen of Glasgow, son to Baillie of Jerviston, who was a brother of the family of Carphin, and a branch of the ancient family of Lamington *, all in the county of Lanerk. His mother's name was HELEN GIBSON, of the same stock of people with the Gibsons of Durie, who have made so great a figure in the law. He was born in Glasgow in the year 1599, and received his education in the university there under the direction of Mr Sharp, who was then head of that college. After he took his degrees in Arts, he turned his thoughts to the study of Divinity, to which he applied with uncommon industry. Taking orders from Archbishop Law, in or about the year 1622, he was chosen a regent of Philosophy in the university of Glasgow; in which station he had the care of the education of Lord Montgomery some years; who carried him with him to Kilwinning; to which church he was presented by the Earl of Eglinton. He lived in the strictest friendship with that Noble family, and his people; as he did also with his ordinary the Archbishop of Glasgow, with whom he kept correspondence by letters. In 1633 he had an offer of a church in Edinburgh; which he modestly declined. In 1638 he was chosen by the presbytery of Irvine a member to the memorable assembly at Glasgow, (which was a prelude to the civil war); where he behaved with great moderation. He was a member of all the following general

* Baillie of Hoprig and Lamington was a branch of the Baliols Lords of Galloway. Hoprig, by marrying the daughter of the famous Sir William Wallace, regent of Scotland, got the estate of Lamington. Their second son was the first of the house of Carphin; of whom Jerviston, the predecessor of our author. *Nisbet's Heraldry.*

assemblies till 1653, except when he attended at the Westminster assembly.

In 1640 the covenanting Lords sent him to London, to draw up an accusation against Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, for the innovations he had obtruded upon the church of Scotland. He was translated in 1642 to be conjunct professor of divinity with Mr David Dickson in the university of Glasgow, after refusing the calls of the other three universities. He was chosen one of the commissioners from the church of Scotland to the assembly of divines at Westminster in 1643.

He continued in the professorship of Divinity till the Restoration. Being a great favourite of the Duke of Lauderdale's, he was, by his interest, made Principal of that university, January 23. 1661, upon the removal of Mr Patrick Gillespie, who was Cromwell's greatest favourite in Scotland. According to Mr Wodrow and others, he had an offer of a bishoprick, which he absolutely refused. He sickened in the spring 1662, and was visited by the new-made Archbishop; to whom he is said to have spoke such words: "Mr Andrew, I will not call you my Lord. King Charles would have made me one of these Lords; but I do not find in the New Testament, that Christ has any Lords in his house." However, he treated the Archbishop very courteously. Mr Baillie died in July 1662, aged sixty-three.

He married, for his first wife, Lillas Fleming, of the family of Cardarroch, in the parish of Cadder, near Glasgow; by whom he had many children. Those who survived him, were, 1. Mr Henry Baillie, a preacher. He never accepted of any charge. His posterity inherit the estate of Carnbroe in the county of Lanerk, an ancient seat of the Baillies. 2. Lillas, married to Mr Eccles of Kildonan in the shire of Ayr. 3. Helen, married to Bailie Colquhoun in Glasgow. 4. Elifabeth, married to Mr Hamilton, a gentleman of Strathbane in the kingdom of Ireland. 5. Mary, married

married to Walter Buchanan of Orchard. Mrs Baillie died June 7. 1653, after a long decaying and sickness. Mr Baillie calls her, "My most gracious and virtuous companion." He says further of her, "In the midst of a great and just grief, I had this mixture of comfort, that, to the full satisfaction of all, in her whole life, sickness, and death, the grace and wisdom of God shined forth in her, till all were crowned with great applause, and regret of all who knew her."

On October 1. 1656, he married, for his second wife, Mrs Wilkie, a widow gentlewoman, daughter to Dr Strang, Principal of the university of Glasgow; by whom he had a daughter, Margaret; who was married to Mr Walkingshaw of Borrowfield.

Mr Wodrow in his History of the sufferings of the Church of Scotland, has the following character of Principal Baillie. "Mr Robert Baillie may most justly be reckoned among the great men of this time, and was an honour to his country, for his profound and universal learning, his exact and solid judgement, that vast variety of languages he understood, to the number of twelve or thirteen, and his writing a Latin style which might become the Augustan age. But I need not enlarge on his character; *his works do praise him in the gates.* He had been employed in much of the public business of this church since the year 1637, and was a worthy member of the venerable assembly at Westminster, and at London almost all the time of it, and hath left behind him very large accounts of matters both of church and state. He was of a most peaceable and healing temper, and always a vigorous assertor of the King's interest: and although, at the first, he wanted not his own difficulties, from his education, and tenderness of the King's authority; yet after reasoning, reading, and prayer, as he himself expresseth it, he came heartily into the measures of the Covenanters. I have

“ have it from an unquestionable hand, one of his
 “ scholars, who afterwards was his successor, and
 “ waited on him a few weeks before his death this
 “ year [1662], that he died under a rooted aversion
 “ to Prelacy in this church. My author desired Mr
 “ Baillie's judgement of the courses this church was
 “ so fast running into. His words to him were,
 “ Prelacy is now coming in like a land-flood: for
 “ my share, I have considered that controversy as far
 “ as I was able, and after all my inquiry, I find it
 “ and am persuaded it is inconsistent with scripture,
 “ contrary to pure and primitive antiquity, and dia-
 “ metrically opposite to the true interest of these
 “ lands.”

The author of the Appendix to Archbishop Spot-
 tifwoode's History, speaking of Principal Baillie, says
 of him, “ Robert Baillie, Professor of Divinity, and
 “ afterwards Principal, a learned and modest man;
 “ though he published some very violent writings,
 “ yet these flowed rather from the instigation of o-
 “ ther persons than his own inclinations. He has
 “ left a great evidence of his diligence and learning
 “ in his *Opus Chronologicum*.”

Mr Baillie's works are as follows.

Opus Historicum et Chronologicum, in folio, printed at Amsterdam.

A defence of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, against Mr Maxwell, Bishop of Ross.

A Parallel betwixt the Scottish Service-Book and the Romish Missal, Breviary, &c.

The Canterburian Self-Conviction.

Queries anent the Service-book.

Antidote against Arminianism.

A treatise on Scottish Episcopacy,

Laudensium.

Diffuasive against the errors of the times, with a Supplement.

A Reply to the Modest Enquirer.

With some other tracts, and several sermons upon public occasions.

LETTERS and JOURNALS

WRITTEN BY

Principal ROBERT BAILLIE.

1. *To Mr William Spang, Minister of the Scots congregation at Campvere. Jan. 29. 1637.*

Dear and loving Cousin,

— As for our publick estate, I do not understand it; neither do any I meet with understand it better. After we were beginning to forget the book of our canons, before Zuil vacance, a proclamation was made by an act of council, at the King's direction, brought down with the Bishop of Ross, (who the last year also brought us down our canons), to receive the service-book. This all the churches in Scotland are commanded to do against Pasch next, under the pain of horning. Yet to this day we cannot get a sight of that book. The reason some say is, because our Scottish edition is not yet compleatly printed. I would rather think that some of our bishops make delay, as not being at a full point themselves what they would have in, and what out. I know much of it was printed in Edinburgh before Zuil was a year. We heard then that the Bishop of Edinburgh chiefly had obtained that we should be quit of the surplice, cross, Apocrypha, saints days, and some other trash of the English liturgy; but since that time, they say, that Canterbury sent down to our Chancellor a long writ of additions, which, nill he would he, behoved to be put in. However it be, my Lord Treasurer brought home a copy of our Scottish service printed in London; which fundry have perused, and say, they find no difference betwixt it and the English service, save one, viz. an addition of fundry mœ Popish rites, which the English want. We must cross in baptism, have the ring in marriage, &c. : but beside, we must consecrate at set times, with set prayers; holy water to stand in the font; at the delivery of the elements there

is another, and that is a very ambiguous prayer, as they say, looking much to transubstantiation; the deacon, on his knees, must, in an offering, present the devotion of the people to the Lord upon his altar or table. For myself, I suspend my judgement till I see the book, only I fear the event be the hurt of our poor church. These who are averse from the ceremony, whereof there is a great number, yea almost all our nobility and gentry of both sexes, count that book little better than the mass, and are far on a way to separate from all who will embrace it. I think verily, if they know to be in no greater danger than Papists among us are, they would not fail to abstain from the public assemblies, as well as they do; and their number and quality is such, that readily it may procure from the prince that liberty which the Papists have: and of this, without farther for the present, I think they will be glad; yea, upon all hazards, though the law should take away all they have from them, it is like, when all ministers have obeyed, they will never countenance a conform assembly. God grant I may prove a false prognosticator. I look for the most pitiful schism that ever our poor kirk has felt. The affections of both sides daily funder more and more, and both give to others new occasions of misinterpretations. The one puts idolatry, Popery, superstition, in sundry things which are innocent of these faults: they speak of the persons and actions of men otherwise than it becomes: they give appearance, that for the changes already made, albeit no farther were of their mind, to separate. The other seems willfully to add fuel to their flame; to command upon sole authority, without ever craving the advice of any, (so far as we can hear), if such things be expedient; yea if they be lawful: but presbyteries, sessions, assemblies, must down; the bishop and his official, the warden and the clerk, and the priest of the parish must up; the new forms of baptism, eucharist, marriage, burial, prayers, psalms, preachings, must be received under the pains of deposition, excommunication, and horning. Who will not yield, he is a seditious factious rebel, not only against the kirk and king, but God, and his fifth command: some of them, in their preaching, discourses, and printed books, declaring their minds for many tenets of Popery and Arminianism: none of them showing any appearance of zeal for repressing of Papists or Arminians at home, for redressing

dreſſing the afflicted ſtate of Proteſtants abroad ; the moſt of them openly hunting for advancement, ſtate-offices, penſions ; caſting the modeſty, painful lecture, preaching, and ſuch other eccleſiaſtical virtues, under foot. —

2. To [*the ſame*] Mr William Spang. 1637.

— In my laſt I ſhewed you, that in the breaking up of the winter-ſeſſion there was a proclamation, by ſound of trumpet, commanding all ſubjects, eccleſiaſtick and civil, to conform themſelves to the liturgy againſt the next Paſch. Till that term there was no din ; for the books were not printed till April was paſt, and a while thereafter. No diligence could obtain a ſight of them, but in May, when letters were obtained by divers of the biſhops, commanding, under the pain of horning, every miniſter in their dioceſe to buy for the uſe of their pariſh two of theſe books. There begin to be much talking of that buſineſs ; which increaſed, when the Biſhop of Galloway in his aſſembly had purchaſed the conſent of the moſt part of his miniſters to take theſe books, to uſe them, as the word went, to buy them when they come from the preſs. Well I wot his Lordſhip alſo held in Galloway an high commiſſion, where, for matters of conformity, he fined ſome gentlemen. He confined the magiſtrates of Kirkcudbright to Wigton for a time. The Laird of Earleſton, who, by Lorn, and the reſt of Lord Kenmure's curators, were intruſted with the moſt of that pupil's affairs ; for his abſence he is fined in 500 merks, and confined his perſon to Montroſe. No dealing could move the Biſhop to paſs from this ſentence ; yea, at the council-table, when Lorn was relating ſome circumſtances of this buſineſs, he got a reply from the Biſhop, which he called a lie, and ſo roſe in high paſſion, and yet remains malecontent for that injury. For myſelf, I think the Biſhop could not be ſo impertinent, but that rather that wiſe nobleman would make uſe of ſome raſh word which has fallen from his mouth. However, he and all the nobles take it for a very pert affront done to their eſtate even in council. The matter I hear is before the King, and not yet agreed. It went alſo broad and wide, and was told to the Biſhop's face, by Lord Dumfries, before the Treasuſurer, that he wore under his coat, upon his breaſt, a crucifix of gold ; to which chal-

A 2

lenge

lenge his reply was but faint. A certain gentleman told me, that he did see, and handle, and confer concerning that crucifix with the Bishop. For all this, I do not believe it; for I, upon my old respect to the man, made Mr R. Hamilton his familiar pose him upon the matter; who reported to me his full purgation of this calumny. However, that synod and commission in Galloway, that supposed lie and crucifix, gave no little occasion to the increase of the people's murmurs. The Bishop of Ross himself, in his cathedral, at least, did long before that time, and so to this day continue to read a liturgy, whether the English, or ours printed at London, I do not know. The Bishop of Dumblane at his synod read it, and gave all his ministers Michaelmas term to advise, whether then they would use that book, or leave their places. The Bishop of Edinburgh in his synod, when Mr H. Rolloh had preached at length for obedience to the King and church, read the book. Mr David Mitchell and young Durie were the chief answerers. St Andrew's in his diocese proponed the buying and using of the book, and thereupon took instruments. Glasgow was sick in Edinburgh; so in our synod was no word of this matter. In the mean time some copies of the book go from hand to hand. Some of the non-conform party make it their text daily, to show the multitude of the Popish points contained in the book; the grossness of it far beyond the English; the way of the imposing of it, not only without any meeting either of church or state, but contrary to the standing laws of both; in a word, that it was nought but the mass in English, brought in by the craft and violence of some two or three of the bishops, against the mind of all the rest, both of church and statesmen. These things, sounded from pulpits, were carried from hand to hand in papers, were the table-talk and open discourse of high and low. So it goes to the middle of July, when the King's letters come down to dissolve the commission of the tithes till farther advisement, procured, as most thought, by the Treasurer, to cross the Chancellor, who at that time was to draw in the churches of the abbacies of St Andrew's, his new casualty, and to cause provide each of them a local stipend within the parish, which would have annihilated the tacks of many noblemen and gentlemen through all Fife, set on by the Duke of Lennox; for many parishes were all dilapidated, and the ministers, whiles two or three, provided out of the tithes

tithes of other parishes: so the Chancellor obtaining a locality to the ministers, according to the act of parliament, within the parish, would have much augmented his own rent, and diminished that of the tacksmen, and hurt the credit of the house of Lennox; who had received money for these tacks, which they could not warrant till these expedients could be found to remedy this evil. The Treasurer gets the commission dissolved. St Andrew's, whether to prevent this plot, or for what other design, resolves to court to winter there. He thought to have used means to have been sent for; or, if these failed, to have pretended a voyage to Bath. Glasgow also protested oftentimes, that he would go and complain of the Treasurer; who continued, notwithstanding of all his contrary promises, to frustrate him of his gift of L. 5000 Sterling out of the annuities of his diocese. For this voyage he had bought his horse. So then my Lord Archbishop's being resolved for court, they thought meet, ere they went, to do a piece of acceptable service to the King, that when they came they might be the more welcome: They will have the liturgy practised in all the churches of Edinburgh without farther delay. A letter comes down from the King to this effect. The Bishop and ministers of Edinburgh are sent for. St Andrew's will hear no reason of shifting; but peremptorily commands them all to intimate out of a printed paper the King's command to have the Scottish liturgy read the Sabbath following in all their churches. The commission is read out of all the pulpits; only Mr Andrew Ramsay flights it. The whole body of the town murmurs and grudges all the week exceedingly. And who can marvel? Discourses, declamations, pamphlets, every where against this course; no word of information in public or private by any to account of, used for the clearing of it. So on the Sunday morning, when the Bishop and his Dean in the great church, and the Bishop of Argyle in the Grayfriars, began to officiate, as they speak, incontinent the serving-maids began such a tumult as was never heard of since the Reformation in our nation. However, no wound was given to any: yet such were the contumelies, in words, in clamours, runnings, and flinging of stones in the eyes of the magistrates, and Chancellor himself, that a little opposition would have infallibly moved that enraged people to have rent fundry of the bishops in pieces. The day thereafter I had occasion to be in the town:

town: I found the people nothing settled; but if that service had been presented to them again, resolved to have done some mischief. Some six or seven servants were put in ward; the town put under an Episcopal interdict, which yet continues. No preachings, no prayers on the weekdays, no reading nor prayers on Sunday. The Chancellor wrote up presently the story to the King, with some wipes to the Treasurer; who that foul day was from the town. The Treasurer and counsellors being highly offended, that the Chancellor should write in such a business without their privy, delays to write or send their post till the Friday. It was thought the council's letter extenuated the matter so much, as that it might be laid on the rascal multitude, with some reflections on the bishops imprudent precipitation. In the mean time there was great fear for the King's wrath. The town and country quaked till the return of the King's pleasure. Our gracious prince was glad, that the town, and all of any note, had been free of that tumult. As for the rascal multitude, he committed the trial and censure of the fact to the council, only commanded the use of the service-book with all possible diligence. Before this time the most of the bishops had raised letters of horning to charge all the ministers in their diocese to buy two books for the use of their parishes within fifteen days. Glasgow was very diligent in charging all his presbyteries; and by no intreaty would delay so much as to his assembly in August, but would have us all to the horn presently who would not buy. St Andrew's moved many to buy the books without charging: only two or three non-conform men were charged in his diocese. There was an overture made to us in Irvine, to supplicate the council for a suspension of this unreasonable charge. After much advisement and doubts, we concluded to send Mr William Castlelaw to the council, with a commission to supplicate in the name of us all for a suspension. We sent over to Air to require them to conjoin; but Mr William Annan, their moderator *pro tempore*, discharged all such motion; only Mr James Bonner went to Edinburgh for himself, and two or three others of his brethren. I having occasion within two or three days thereafter to be in Glasgow, did motion the matter to their ministers, who had presently gotten letters to be ready against the Sunday next to read the service in all their churches. I had not much ado to cause them call their presbytery, and subscribe

scribe all of them a pithy supplication, penned by Mr John Maxwell, carried by Mr R. Wilkie on Wednesday to the council. Upon that supplication mainly, for there were no more but ours in Irvine, Mr James Bonner, for two in Air; Mr Alexander Henderson, for himself, and two of St Andrew's; I say, Glasgow's supplication, and Mr Robert Wilkie's diligence, to his infinite praise, obtained from the council that strange letter to the King, which ye have, and an act from the council, declaring, that their mind in their letters, of charging the ministers, was alone to buy the books for their own information, but not for any present use in their parishes. Many noblemen by letters, many gentlemen in person, solicited the counsellors one by one, and gave them all these informations, which ye have also. All the council was most earnest to satisfy the country, in holding off the yoke of that black book; only at the bishops vehement solicitations for the refunding of the printer's expences, for which they stood obliged, there was no suspension given for the buying of two books till an answer should be returned from the King. To this letter all the farther prosecuting of the matter was delayed to the 20th of September. Our synod in Glasgow was indicted on the last Wednesday of August. The Bishop wrote to me from Edinburgh to preach thereat; and withal to incite all my hearers to obey the church-canon, and to practise the service. I wrote back a flat refusal, shewing the irresolution of my own mind. For all this, on the Friday before the synod I receive new letters, commanding me, upon my canonical obedience, to preach on Wednesday before the synod, committing the matter of my sermon to my own discretion. However I had but two free days, yet I chose rather to obey than to hazard myself in needless contests with a troublesome man, and made myself ready as I might, on 2 Tim. iv. 1. 2. "I charge thee before God to preach in season and out of season," &c. The Bishop, as I was informed, had written to Mr William Annan to preach on the Thursday; but coming to the town on the Monday, whileas I could not win till the Tuesday late, the Bishop agrees with him to take the Wednesday, and thinks to keep me for the Thursday, (as he said afterwards to me), being the chief day of the synod, when yet he might know that the synod would be dissolved. Glad was I that Mr William Annan took that burden off me; for indeed I was not prepared

as the time required. I would have spoken no syllable of any conformity, but pressed these pastoral duties, which would not have pleased all; so I took it: and the event proved it to be a good providence for me that I was freed; for Thursday I peremptorily refused. Mr William Annan, on 1 Tim. ii. 2. "I exhort that prayers be made for all men." In the last half of his sermon, from the making of prayers, he ran out upon the liturgy, and spake for the defence of it in whole, and fundry most plaufible parts of it, as well, in my poor judgement, as any in the isle of Britain could have done, considering all circumstances. However, he maintained, to the dislike of all, in an unfit time, that which was hanging in suspense between the King and the country. Of his sermon among us in the synod not a word; but in the town among the women a great din. To-morrow Mr John Lindsay, at the Bishop's command, preached. He is the new moderator of Lanerk. At the ingoing of the pulpit, it is said, that some of the women in his ear assured him, that if he should touch the service-book in his sermon, he should be rent out of the pulpit. He took the advice, and let that matter alone. At the outgoing of the church, about thirty or forty of our honestest women, in one voice, before the Bishop and magistrates, fell a railing, cursing, scolding, with clamours on Mr William Annan. Some two of the meanest were taken to the tolbooth. All the day over, up and down the streets where he went, he got threats of fundry in words and looks; but after supper, while needlessly he will go to visit the Bishop, who had taken his leave with him, he is no sooner on the street, at nine o'clock, in a dark night, with three or four ministers with him, but some hundreds of enraged women, of all qualities, are about him, with neaves, staves, and peats, but no stones. They beat him fore; his cloak, ruff, and hat, were rent: however, upon his cries, and candles set out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds; yet he was in great danger even of killing. This tumult was so great, that it was not thought meet to search either the plotters or actors of it, for numbers of the best quality would have been found guilty. To-morrow poor Mr William was conveyed with the bailies and fundry ministers to his horse; for many women were waiting to affront him more. Always at his on-leaping, his horse unhappily fell above him in a very foul mire, in presence of all

all the company; of which accident was more speech than of any other. I think that town's commotion proceeds most from Mr John Bell's vehement dislike of that book. I take him to be much furthered thereto by his good-son Mr James, so shamefully abused by the Bishop, as I wrote to you before. Always I suspect these tumults will hinder the Bishop, for all his stoutness, in haste to cause read service in his cathedral. Great was the longing of the whole country for the 20th of September; against it all expected this business would take some crisis. The most of the parishes in the shires of Air, Fife, Lothian, Clydesdale, Stirling, and Strathern, sent in supplications with their chief gentlemen, to beseech the council to deprecate the King, that he would not urge the heavy burden of the liturgy. A number of Earls and Lords, a great number of Barons, fundry burghs commissioners, (Glasgow I moved, and by God's help overcame many difficulties), went to keep the diet. The Duke of Lennox, coming down post for his mother's burial, who died of a fever, and was buried the 17th of September in the night without any ceremony; for her husband, mainly by her princely carriage, is more than 400,000 merks of debt; the Duke, I say, had the carrying of the King's letter to the council. A copy of it I have sent you. For all the harshness of it, the commissioners presented their several supplications. There was a common one presented by Lord Sutherland, the first Earl of those who were present, in name of the nobility, barons, ministers, burghs, there present. The Duke was carefully solicited to agent this weighty business, and has promised to do his endeavour. In his passage he was magnificently entertained in the town-house of Glasgow. He has subscribed, in the Bishop's presence, an ancient band of his house, to maintain that good town, under the King, against all whomsoever to his power. His Grace avowed, that the King was misinformed much about the nature of the business. It is thought, that two years since, the Bishop of Ross and Dean of Edinburgh being at court, gave assurance, that the nobility and body of the land longed much for this liturgy, and would give the King great thanks to get it; also, that with the last letter of the council, which all who were present, even the bishops themselves, subscribed, there went up privy informations from the Bishop of Dunblane to Canterbury, for the rest promised to write nothing dissonant from the

publick letter, shewing, that if the King would go on, he should find little difficulty, though some few Puritans in the council would make it seem otherwise. However, the council made that act which ye have; and all, with most earnest affection, commended the affair to the Duke. The Treasurer, his guide, lays it much to heart: and albeit it was greatly feared that he should have been the violent executor of the King's command; yet he has given the noblemen full assurance, that he will venture all he has before our Reverend Fathers get our sweet prince so far abused as to lose needlessly the hearts of all his subjects. By the King's peremptory command, the town of Edinburgh was forced to receive, the 18th of September, Jo. Hay, clerk-register, for their provost. When they would have joined with the rest of the burrows to supplicate, he did hinder. After the council rose, a committee was ordained to sit still, to find means how the book should be quietly received in Edinburgh without farther delay. The people hearing of it on the Saturday, publickly, before the Bishop, rail on their new provost. On Monday he calls in the tolbooth a council. The body of the town keep the diet; men, women, and all, rush in. All the threats of the imperious provost could not make any of them move. The book, all of them cried, they never would have. At last, they were moved to go forth by the bailie's request till the council had advised; but with assurance, they would not go from the door till they had concluded to supplicate for the town to the committee. The provost, after he had drunk all these contumelies, was glad to promise a supplication, and assure, that they should as little, and as late, be troubled with that book as any burgh in the kingdom. Against the next council-day, the 1st of November, it is expected, that the most of all the nobility, gentry, burghs, will be present to send up their commissioners to court. What shall be the event, God knows. There was never in our land such an appearance of a stir. The whole people think Popery at the doors. The scandalous pamphlets which come daily new from England added oil to this flame. No man may speak any thing in publick for the King's party, except he would have himself marked for a sacrifice to be killed one day. I think our people possessed with a bloody devil, far above any thing that I could ever have imagined, though the mass in Latin had been presented. The ministers, who have the
command

command of their mind, disavow their unchristian humour, but are no ways so zealous against the devil of their fury, as they are against the seducing spirit of the bishops. For myself, I think, God, to revenge the crying sins of all estates and professions, which no example of our neighbours calamities would move us to repent, is going to execute his long-denounced threatenings, and to give us over unto madness, that we every one may shoot our sword in our neighbours hearts. Our dregs are like to be more bitter than was the brim of God's cup either to the French or Dutch. Ye, and all your neighbours, had much need to pray for us, as we have oft done for you in your dangers. The massacre of Paris, the Catholic league of France, is much before my eyes; but I hope the devil shall never find a Duke of Guise to lead the bands.

The ministers being met at dinner together, in a great number, at the council-day, Mr Andrew Ramsay, Mr H. Pollock, Mr D. Dick, Mr A. Henderson, Mr J. Ker, and many more, advised of overtures to calm this storm. One of them drew them up in this form, which I send you. The updrawer is averse from all conformity; yet modest here, as could have been expected. I desiderate one overture, namely, a clear demonstration of their madness, who, in this, or any cause, will go lose their soul, in resisting authority. Ye have the most of these things before; yet, that ye may see it is neither unkindness nor laziness that makes my letters to you so rare, I thought fit you should hear them all together from me also.—

3. *To my Lord Archbishop of Glasgow.*

Please your Lordship,

YOUR Lordship's letter of the 7th of this instant, I received the 13th, late, wherein I am desired to preach the last Wednesday of this instant, before the assembly, and to frame my sermon to unite my hearers to the obedience and practice of the canon of our church and service-book, published and established by authority. I am much obliged to your Lordship's estimation of my poor gifts, and do humbly thank your Lordship for intending to honour me with so great a service; but withal am sorry that my present disposition necessitates me to decline the charge.

I will confess myself to your Lordship freely ; for I have found ever such equity in your Lordship, and favour and respect to me in all my affairs, that I am emboldened, without all dissimulation, to speak what is in my mind. The truth is, that as yet I have not studied the matters contained in that book of our canons and common prayer, only I have taken a slight view of them ; whereby, for the present, my mind is no ways satisfied ; yea, the little pleasure I have in these books, and the great displeasure I find the most part have, of pastors and people wherever I come, to have conceived of them, has filled my mind with such a measure of grief, that I am scarce able to preach to my own flock : but to preach in another congregation, and that in so famous a meeting, and that upon these matters, I am at this time all utterly unable. Your Lordship, I put no question, is so equitable as to take in good part this my ingenuous confession of the true cause why I am unable to accept that honourable compliment, which your Lordship's more than ordinary respect would have laid upon me. So for this, and many more favours received, far above my deserving, I pray God to bless your Lordship, and to continue you many years to be our overseer ; for be persuaded, that many thousands here where I live, are greatly afraid, that whenever your Lordship shall go, their peace and quietness shall go away with you. This is from your Lordship's very loving friend and obedient servant,

R. BAILLIE.

Kilwinning, August 19. 1637.

A note of proceedings since the 5th of December.

THE commissioners came to Edinburgh on Tuesday the 5th of December, and were dealt with by the counsellors, that upon Wednesday, the 6th thereof, we should not go to Linlithgow, on the 7th, to present our supplications to the council, there to be holden, upon promise that nothing should be done there to our prejudice ; and that within forty-eight hours after their return from Linlithgow, a day should be appointed for receiving our grievances and supplications.

Upon Thursday the 7th in Linlithgow, and in Edinburgh on Saturday the 9th, proclamation was made, declaring the King's abhorring of all superstition of Popery,

ry, and freedom from intention to allow any thing contrary to the religion presently professed, and laudable laws of this kingdom. Upon Monday the 11th, a proclamation for sitting of the council and session at Stirling the 2d of February, and unto that time of the council's sitting at Dalkeith, Tuesday and Thursday weekly. Upon the self same day the commissioners were dealt with by the Treasurer and Privy Seal, to go to Dalkeith to-morrow; thereafter to attend the council in a small number, not exceeding twelve in whole; and to divide their supplications, every rank and sherriffdom coming with their supplications apart: which, because it tended to division, we refused.

Tuesday the 12th. The commissioners coming forth as they were appointed, were assayed, if they would divide their numbers? if they would send in their supplications by a macer or clerk, and not come in themselves? if they were come as the three estates? as supplicants of all ranks? Whereunto we answered, That we would not divide, nor send in our petitions by the clerk or macer, nor call ourselves otherways than supplicants of all ranks. At length the heads of our supplications being understood, we were delayed till to morrow.

Wednesday the 13th. The commissioners coming again, as they were appointed, were dealt with to alter their subscribed supplication, in the point thereof that concerned the prelates as their parties: which being found by the whole commissioners destructive of the subscribed supplication, and without the bounds of their commission, was refused: whereupon the council refused to receive it on these terms; and while the commissioners were about to take instruments of their diligence, and the council's refusal, the council brake up abruptly.

The brethren met daily, and likewise the rest of the commissioners, and by conference, by reasons of subscription, by reasons of not altering any thing in the subscribed supplication, reasons of union, and to conform themselves in unity in the good cause more and more unanimously, and to insist for an answer to their supplication, whereof, when they saw no appearance, they resolved upon a protestation before the council, and a supplication to his Majesty; and saw a necessity of humbling themselves and their flocks, in respect of the present distress of our kirk; but would not take upon them to indict

dict a set universal fast, but thought it fit that every man by himself, in his own time, so conveniently as he could, within their own charge, with consent of their sessions, should humble themselves publickly, and acquaint their people with this obtruded liturgy, how far contrary it is to the confession of faith, sworn and subscribed by all ranks in the kingdom.

They resolved also, that the colleges should be brotherly admonished to beware of the service-book, and of suffering any corrupt doctrine to be taught amongst them, lest parents should be forced to remove their children.

Upon Tuesday December 19. we went to Dalkeith to attend the council's answer to our petitions formerly given in, and presented a bill.

4. *To [the aforementioned] Mr William Spang. Feb. 27. 1638.*

— The state of our affairs, since ye assure me of your desire to know them from me, have it so far as I am informed.

What had passed to the 20th of September last, ye have in my former. I shall send you now what has befallen since, after some gleanings of the former time, whereof since I have had intelligence. The 20th of December 1636, there came a missive to the council, brought down by the Bishop of Ross, commanding all to conform themselves to a liturgy, which the King had seen in writ, and approven. The act of council and proclamation is made therefrom, and printed in the frontispiece of our book. It was well near May thereafter ere the books were printed: for as it is now perceived, by the leaves and sheets of that book, which are given out athort the shops of Edinburgh, to cover spice and tobacco, one edition at least was destroyed: but for what cause we cannot learn; whether because some gross faults were to be amended, or some more novations were to be eiked to it; both reasons are likely; only it is marvellous that so many being conscious of necessity to this deed, the secret of it should not yet come out. But shortly after the outcoming of the book, the bishops, upon a narrative not well grounded, as the event shows, obtains an act of horning on all ministers, the 13th June 1637, who will not buy two of these books for the

the use of their parishes: what followed on the first practice of it at Edinburgh, I wrote before. From the 24th of July to the 10th of August, the posts ran thick betwixt the council and the court, which sat every other day, to find means for the peaceable introduction of the service. There wanted not good-will in the magistrates and ministers of Edinburgh to do his Majesty's service; yet all was delayed to the 20th of August; at which the four supplications (which by the diligence of one man, D. D. upon very small or no hope of success, was procured from Glasgow, Irvine, Air, and Fife) were presented, and that favourable letter which ye have, was written by the council to the King; to the which came down that sharp reply the 20th of September. The sharpness of it I nothing marvel, considering, besides the bishops information, that the magistrates of Edinburgh, as they say, in name of the town, wrote to Canterbury, that however some of the base rascal multitude had made din for that service, yet that they themselves, and the greatest and best part of the city, were most willing to obey the King in that or any other commandment he would be pleased to injoin; that they had offered stipends above their power to their second ministers to read the book. I hear, indeed, that their second ministers were content, upon the offer of some more than was promised, to embrace that charge; and that they would count it an accumulation of favours, if the King would, by his Grace's means, rest assured of their obedience. For this offer of so hearty obedience, and charges to their second ministers, Canterbury, in his answer, returned them, both in the King's name, and in his own, most hearty thanks. What marvel then, if the King should call all that din and tumult, whereof the council wrote the 24th of August, a needless noise? as we heard it was called also before my L. Alexander, who went to court after that council-day, and yet there remains, a man very favourable to the book, and a great reasoner for it. The matter, as ye heard the 20th of September, grew much hotter, where the four poor ministers were converted to 24 noblemen, and a number of barons, near 100 ministers, many towns, commissioners from 66 parishes, all together appearing in the street, at the council-house door, and every where in the eyes of the Duke of Lennox. You have the council's letter to the King, wherein they promise to do their
endeavour

endeavour for the book; but withal professed grief for his Majesty's hard construction of their former diligence. By what means the people of Edinburgh extorted from their provost, a supplication to the committee, which sat still, for finding means to have the book yet read in their town, ye heard, and so I closed my last.

We expected not a council-day again before the 1st of November, at soonest; yet St Andrew's advertised the town of Edinburgh, to expect the answer of their supplication the 18th of October. We were informed that their supplication was suppressed, and never sent to court; only the provost wrote to Canterbury, that that confluence of innumerable people the two last council-days, had suggested such things to the poor ignorant people, that had razed the good resolutions, which, by their continual pains, had been before imprinted in their mind; and however they had assured of their ready obedience and obsequiousness, upon the confident assurance which from time to time, they had taken of the greatest and best part of their citizens; yet they were forced to supplicate the council, that they might be continued in the same estate with the rest of the kingdom, promising, that they would not forbear to do their master service to their power, and would strive to re-imprint in their people their former good resolutions, that for the present were taken away. To the same purpose they wrote to my L. Stirling. The appointment of the 18th October for the town of Edinburgh was kept long secret; but when it drew near, our neighbour hearing of it, took it for a done policy to separate Edinburgh, which was now joined with the rest of the kingdom: so we are all advertised to keep that 18th day, who otherwise were not minded to appear before the 1st of November. That diet I kept at Lord Montgomerie's desire, and my Lord Rothes's intreaty by letter to him. The noblemen, gentlemen, and ministers of the West and South, did meet in frequent number, but at the beginning were very sorry of their voyage. St Andrew's had not come over; none of Fife to count of were present. We expected no council-day. We took our advertisement to be a false alarm; and our warner, Mr Johnston, beside his custom, to have been too rash. We began to be ashamed, and feared that meeting of ours should be mocked by the adverse party; but at once we found ourselves
far

far mistaken : a council meets ; we hear a dumb rumour that letters were come from court ; that St Andrew's of purpose had absented himself to deceive and withdraw Fife from that meeting ; or rather, as I think, because he desired to be absent from the ungracious employments of that day. However, the commissioners of parishes, above 200, give in their supplications to James Primrose, the clerk, together with a dollar at least the piece. This done, all goes to consultation ; the noblemen to one house, the gentry to another, we to a third. Mr Andrew Ramsay is our moderator. He enquires of every man, if he dissented from the book : all did, both for matter, and manner of imposing it. I was posed somewhat more narrowly, because they suspected my mind in these things. I replied, with some piece of blushing in such an auditory, the like whereof I had never spoken before, That albeit I thought myself obliged in charity, to construct of that cause from authority in the best sense that any verity would permit, yet I behoved to disapprove the book, both for matter and manner, upon these reasons, which at more length I had to show. I was not minded to speak any more in public ; yet after I heard time spent by many upon their poor and soon-answered objections, I was the more content to yield to the importunity of fundry, who drew me forward with their hands, to speak some of my reasons. I had thought on a way of opposing the book, by God's providence, which had come in the mind of none of that company, so far as I yet know, to prove the errors that were apparent, or might be deduced by consequence from the book, to be the mind and avowed doctrines of the book-makers, by testimonies of these books which Canterbury of late had printed. A number of thir passages I had perquire : so I was heard with very great applause, and ere even was to be as famous a man as was in all the town, and entreated that what I had said, or could say more to that purpose, I would put it in writ ; for that way of proceeding was counted to be very advantageous to our cause. This I did ; and since have, from many hands, got many thanks, and expect from the bishops, if ever they get up their heads again, many strokes. While we were thus occupied, some of our number who had been abroad, came in, and show us, that by sound of trumpet we were all discharged the town within twenty-four hours.

A little thereafter, the same day, by another proclamation, as I remember, the session and council was indicted at Linlithgow, the 1st of November, for the first session, and thereafter at Dundee. All thir things were feared and foretold by some of the bishops. The best policy that could be used to break the combination of the land, was to delay them, that being wearied with time, they might fall off. The provost's information, that their people's good resolutions were altered by the confluence of strangers to the council, did, as it seems, procure their discharge to remain longer in town; and it was thought that the council and session was that town's god, so that the fearing to want these, would draw that people any where. To counterpoise this policy, the other party, after a little astonishment, and rage, resolved, in the short time was given them, to stay to draw up a formal complaint against the bishops, as authors of the book, and all the troubles that had been and was like to follow on it. This is done very secretly. To the gentry and ministry is let fall only a small general. We are all desired by the nobility, to stay till they sent to us to communicate their resolution to-morrow. In the mean time, they put the penning of that complaint to Mr Alexander Henderson and Lord Balmerino on the one hand; to Mr D. Dick and Lord Loudon on the other. That night these four did not sleep much. To morrow two forms are presented to the nobles. Our westland one was received, and incontinent subscribed by some 24 noblemen, earls and lords, some 2 or 300 gentlemen of quality. All did flee upon it without much advisement. It was done very shortly and secretly; for time straitened. About four in the afternoon it came to the ministers room. At that time I was abroad: when I came in, it was going fast through the hands of brethren. I asked at one or two what they had subscribed, who could not inform. It seems too many went on *fide implicita*. I desired the writ to be read over to us who were new come in. When I heard the piece, I was in great doubts what to do. Some hard passages were in it that had neither been reasoned nor voted. If I had refused my hand to it, I had been as infamous that day, for marring, by my example, a good cause, as yesterday I was famous for furthering it with my discourse. After a little silence and advisement, I got my mind extended to subscription, upon thir two grounds,

1. That the words "seeds of idolatry and superstition, and the mass," without thrawing, might reach far; and indeed, according to my mind in the book, after the Englishmens late commentars, such seeds truly were sown.

2. That who subscribed a complaint upon the narrative of many wrongs, it was enough to abide by the conclusion, and so many of the premises as truly justified it. It was declared by the penners and chief hands in that writ, that they intended no farther than to oblige all the subscribers to complain against the bishops, who had been the authors of the book, so many ways faulty; but not that every subscriber should be tied to believe all the parts of the narrative. Upon thir two grounds I got my hand to that writ, which here ye have, and never repented of that subscription; for after trial, and much study, I think there is no word in it but I could defend it in reason. However, I thought then, and yet think, that the penners were much more happy than wise. I think they were very imprudent to make that piece so hard, so rigorous, so sharp, that they minded to present to so many thousand stomachs of divers tempers. Had they been to require the hands of none but men who were not of that faith of bishops and ceremonies, they had not been rash; but their strength consisting in the union of a multitude, the greatest part whereof was far otherwise, and still are, of ceremonies and fundry things in that book, than they are, they should have attempered their words in more general terms; which they might have done without hurting their main intention, and venturing to lose the hands of the most, and the most considerable of all the clergy of Scotland. For this their venturous rashness, I must chide the authors of that writ. They gave contentment by this, among other speeches, that hereafter, if the like service were put upon them, they should be loath, but to take more of our advice, who in some things were otherwise minded than they. However, the goodness of God has covered their infirmity, as still I take it, of men who are opposite to the book. I know very few at all, yea, none of any consideration, who have refused their hands to the writ, except our brethren in Glasgow; for they all, (except old Mr John Bell and Mr Robert Wilkie, who are both very forward in all this cause) have yet refused to subscribe upon their own reasons, but they are not thought of in so great a number. There are at it

now above 38 nobles, gentlemen without number. I hear of none away but Craigie, Pollock, Maxwell, and the Constable of Dundee. All the towns have subscribed, except Aberdeen, whom they suspect.

While this writ is in subscribing, the burgeses of Edinburgh are put in a high rage. They find that their supplication had never been presented to the King: they see the council and session removed, the greatest evil that they feared, executed upon them: they understood, by the former letters, that promises were made to work them to the embracing of the book: they feared the nobles and gentry were put off the town, that they being left alone, might by threats and allurements be brought by their provost whereto he would. These reasons made the multitude in a high mood to flock to the council-house, where their magistrates sat, and send in to require that the provost and council would appoint commissioners to join in supplications and complaints, with the rest of the country, also to assure them of their ministers and readers restitution to their places, with denunciation, real and intelligible enough, that except all were presently granted, they needed not expect to come out of their house with their lives. Upon these fears all was granted. James Cochran, John Smith, and a third of their old bailies, in whom they had most confidence, were chosen commissioners. An act in writ, subscribed by all the magistrates hands, was given out to them, for their ministers and readers; so the most of the people went away in triumph. While thir things are in doing, the Bishop of Galloway comes up the street towards the tolbooth, for the examination of some witnesses, in the cause of Francis Stewart, Lord Bothwell, and Roxburgh. While he is near the door, the women, after some quarrelling of him for his crucifix and clamours, begin to pluck at him, and so affrays him that he cries to the gentlemen for help; who, presently, with their swords and good words, hold the people off him, and carry him to the laigh council-house. It was not much from a dangerous uproar; but the diligence of the gentry, whom the people respected, and the obtaining of all their desires, held all in: yet durst not the provost nor the bishop stir out of doors, till the Treasurer and Wigton came to them, and conveyed them through the street. In the afternoon a proclamation is made, declaring this tumult to be barbarous, insolent,

solent, and all the evils you can call it, and commanding that none of the inhabitants should, under the highest pains, be seen on the streets, but for their necessary affairs. It seems they informed his Majesty of that hour's work, as ye will hear in the sequel. The provost and bishop were so ill feared, (as I think indeed they had reason, for it seems a little matter would have made them be pulled in pieces), that they durst no more compear in the town. The bishop held him about the Treasurer. The provost went off the town in a rage, as was thought, to post to court with his complaints: but after sleeping, he staid in Leith and about the town for some days, till the calming of the people's minds.

That afternoon the nobility used all diligence to have a council for presenting their *Magna Charta*; which, after great pains, they obtained. Lord Loudon penned a letter in their names, containing a smooth complaint of their hard usage, and requiring licence to stay in the town for term-affairs, withal intreating to receive the supplication, which was inclosed in a paper by itself. The council gave them leave to stay twenty-four hours farther; and to all who would come and shew the necessity of their particular affairs, they promised licence to stay longer: but as for their new supplication, they would not read it, because they were simply discharged to meddle with any thing that concerned the church in that diet; however assuring their willingness, when their hands were loosed, as they trusted they should be shortly, to receive it, and give it a convenient answer. The bishop and provost, in this conference with the noblemen at the council, were so far from giving them thanks for rescuing their life that day, that to their face they imputed the appearance of tumult, and their particular danger to the coming of the nobility and gentry to the town in so frequent numbers, alledging that these tumults fell not out but when they were in town. The other made such advantage of that calumny, making this their speech a ground of their next famous meeting the 15th of November, for to chuse commissioners to wait in small numbers on the council, according to the provost's and bishop's motion. This was the pretence; but the truth was, that night after supper in Balmerino's lodging, where the whole nobility, I think, supped, some commissioners from the gentry, town, and ministers met, where I was among the rest.

There

There it was resolved to meet against the 15th of November, in as great a number as possibly could be had, to wait on the answer of their prior supplication, and to get their complaint once tabled and received, and to do farther *pro re nata*; for to this hour I cannot learn that any plot or design has been laid by one or more, but only a resolution taken to make the best use that wisdom and diligence could, of every occasion as it presented itself, for their main end to free us of the books. In this meeting, Loudon and Balmerino were moderators; both of them, but especially Balmerino, drew me to admiration. I thought them the best spokesmen that ever I heard open a mouth; the harmony, mutual love among all, zeal and gravity, was greater, in my mind, than was in a meeting of very churchmen this forty years. Mr Andrew Ramsay began and ended with prayer. Mr Thomas Abernethy spoke exceeding well, in the farewell to the nobles, for the reformation of their persons, and using the exercise of piety in their families; which all took well, and promised fair.

The fame of that 15th day spread at once far and broad, even to the King's ear, and all were in great suspense what it might produce. To counterpoise all sinister accidents, the Treasurer indicted a council at Linlithgow the 19th of November. We all thought, that the King's mind was come down with my Lord Treasurer-depute, Sir James Carmichael; but he had nothing either in word or writ. Mr William Livingston told a number of us in the meeting, that Sir James had said to him, he heard the King assure, he would have the book through on all hazards, and would never have a letter of it altered; yea, Mr William reported thir news to Traquair; who advertised Sir James of the inconveniency of this report, whether true or false. Sir James, highly commoved with Mr William's rashness, assuring the utter falsehood of that bruit; that he had reported the clean contrary to fundry, viz. that the King, upon the information, that our Scottish service was diverse, and much nearer Popery than that of England, had, with his own hand, noted some of these diversities, and was displeased with them, showing, that he had no intention that our book should be any thing worse than the English; also that the King had given a very late proof of his good affection to religion, who, on my Lord, I think, of Devonshire's complaint, that his Lady

was seduced by the priest, and made to go to mass, whence he had pulled her almost by violence, crying to all that were at that mass to give out his wife, or else he would burn them all together; upon this Lord's complaint, the King had made a very strict proclamation against the seducing priests.

At this council-day, to get the numerous meeting of the 15th day following kept in order and quietness, they did it by privy conference. The Treasurer, Lauderdale, and Lorn, as the three wisest and most gracious of the council, wrote to the room where the noblemen met, and shewed the informality and danger of that their meeting. After much reasoning, it was agreed, that their meeting was legal and necessary, to expect the King's answer to their heavy grievances; that because this was like to take some time, they had met, in a good number, to chuse some few commissioners, some two gentlemen out of each shire, and one or two ministers of each presbytery, who hereafter ought to attend without so great confluence; and for this time, they had so divided themselves in several companies, and kept within doors, that their numbers were not disorderly. The counsellors were content of their chusing commissioners, whom they undertook by some few, who were to wait in the town, to advertise timeously of the King's answer, which they trusted should come shortly; for they heard of a commission given by the King to the Earl of Roxburgh, who was then on his way. Such matters as thir passed that night. To-morrow, when the noblemen had advised, they went down some four of them, with some others of the gentry, towns, and ministry, to the rooms where the counsellors were met, so many as was in the town; albeit these oft protested they were not a council. Here Rothes spoke for the supplicants, and Traquair replied, with great admiration to some of his wisdom and faculty of speech. It was required, first, that they might chuse their commissioners from all shires, as well absent as present, who had, or were to give in their supplications, to attend his Majesty's answer; which, if it was not satisfactory, they craved, that their meeting again in frequent numbers might not be mistaken. The Advocate, after some little displeasure of the Treasurer at this motion, resolved, that they might meet in law to chuse commissioners to parliament, to conventions of estates, or any publick business. 2. It was required,

red, That order might be taken with some bishops and ministers, who, in privy discourses and sermons, had slandered them as mutinous, seditious, and rebellious, when the Treasurer had slighted these mens passionate words. It was required, 3dly, That the people in Edinburgh, who in words and clamours had past bounds, but had done no harm, might likewise be passed; upon which conditions, they would pass from the former far greater and more considerable injury done to them. In this, it was said, nought could be done in the Provost of Edinburgh's absence; for he, of purpose, with the clerk, and some of his faction, had gone off the town to behold the event of that meeting. 4. It was required, That the ministers of Edinburgh might be reponed to their places. To this the Bishop protested his willingness; but behoved to deal with the Chancellor and the King, that they might be replaced, so as might be most for the content of themselves and all others. 5. It was required, That the bishops, and others, might surcease the urging or practice of the book till the King's mind was known; and that so much the more, as the bailies of Brechin did report to the council of their Bishop D. Walter's importunity to take instruments in God, the King, and in his own name, being a counsellor, that he discharged their chusing a commissioner to supplicate against that book, which now he was minded to read. This the counsellors promised they would. The bishops, and, as it is thought, both the Treasurer and Chancellor, advertised D. Walter, that he should forbear the book for a time: but he being resolved to serve the King in a time when other feeble cowards couched, would not be counselled, but on the Sunday following went to the pulpit with his pistols, his servants, and, as the report goes, his wife, with weapons. He entered early when there were a few people, closed the doors, and read his service: but when he had done, he could scarce get to his house; all flocked about him; and had he not fled, he might have been killed. He durst never try that play over again. The effect of that day's meeting ye may see in the council's letters to the King and Secretary. The fruit of it to our country's cause, was the conjunction of the town of Edinburgh with the rest; for at their commissioner's motion to the noblemen, it was resolved, that their cause should be defended as common, so far as law could sustain, and then it was thought sustainable; that the matter which the
bishops

bishops called so barbarous and tumultuous, was nought but a very modest keeping of their profession, when these, against all law, would have intruded the corruption of their religion; so whatever skaith had followed on that intrusion, the usurpers, not the defenders, must be charged with it, according to K. James's maxims of the powder-treason, "That in the danger of the prince, or of the religion, every one, without reproof, may run to their defence." Such things are now begun to be more than muttered. The other advantage we got, was the settling of an advised and constant order by commissioners countenanced by the council; that we may pursue and defend our cause against the bishops no more by a tumultuary confluence, but by the stayed resolution of a great number of the choicest in the kingdom. The noblemen meet all; of the ministry, one from every presbytery; of the gentry, two from every shire; and one or two from every burgh. At this diet I was present against my mind; for I love no travel; but the presbytery was importunate with me to go, on the report of my service at the meeting before. When we met at the council's desire, we were divided in three companies. The bishoprick of St Andrew's and Edinburgh together; of Glasgow, Galloway, and Argyle, together; and the rest in a third room. There was a committee of all thir, some eight or nine by themselves, the rest had nought to do but give our presence; for, in effect, all was done by the wit and grace of the two Archbishops. M. A. H. and M. D. D. joined with two or three of the noblemen. In our room we could scarce get our countenances kept for lack of purpose. I was put oft to speak of my collections, which I did with greater contentment, as it seemed, to others than myself, they were so oft rechanted. We were not well at home, till we heard of Lord Roxburgh's arrival, of his letter to the Treasurer to keep a council at Linlithgow the 7th of December, of the Treasurer's advertising hereof our lieges at Edinburgh, who presently, by post, acquainted all our colleagues in the country. All the commissioners came to Edinburgh on the 5th of December. They were earnestly dealt with to go to Linlithgow, upon assurance nought should be done to their prejudice, and that within four days they should have a new meeting of the council. This, after much debate, was granted. At Linlithgow the council was frequent. The King's letter of trust to Roxburgh

was read; also his Majesty's declaration of his intention to make no change, neither in religion nor laws. This was proclaimed by sound of trumpet. Another act the same day, intimating the sitting of the council weekly hereafter in Dalkeith, and of the session, after the 1st of February, at Stirling. At the 1st of November, the Treasurer and some of the Lords came, and made a phrase to set down the session in the palace of Linlithgow; but finding that house out of order, and all the subjects grieved to see Edinburgh deserted for the common cause, and the members of the session extremely unwilling to leave that town, wherein alone they found themselves accommodated, they wrote up to the King the inconveniences of that place for the session, and obtained the removal of it to Stirling at the named day, hoping to obtain, before that time, the return of it to the old seat. The King's declaration was heartily received, as most gracious in itself, and most advantageous to our cause; for if it be not made clear, that the bishops pressing of this book is contrary to the declaration of the prince, the undertakers to prove it in their complaint are most willing to bear the blame. I have heard some men very politick, I think, in finding out, or rather imagining policies, where readily there is none, thinking, that it is the bishops intention, by this declaration, to have stopped for ever all mouths that would have muted against the book or them, as, in the last parliament of England, the King's declaration of his mind in religion was the stop of all process against those who were like to be censured for innovating therein; and that our taking of ourselves to accuse the bishops as our party before that declaration, was a preventing and countermining of that plot; but my bluntness pierces not thus deep. Roxburgh's commission, ye see, is general. It was thought he had many private instructions, and some of them hard. The word went, that some letters he sent back closed as they were, knowing the impossibility or inexpediency of their execution. Some suspected it might be the apprehending of the most shining nobility; for it is alledged, that some ministers about the bishops, from many of our Canterburian affections, descend before they come down, gave out, that it had been good to have past Balmerino when he was before in the pannel; and that if the heads were removed, this body of petitioners would soon dissolve. Others say, that he had warrant to deal

deal with men as he found them disposed, by huge and vast offers. Whatever of this be true, the event seems to declare, that his main direction was to essay all possible means of dividing those who were so straitly combined, and that in a way legal, which none could reprove. The Treasurer at that time was much, as is thought, threatened by the King: and it is no marvel; for, besides other misinformations, Sir Thomas Thompson, Register's good-brother, had written to Canterbury of him exceeding maliciously; which letter he got, and challenged on his calumnies, but imputed them mainly to Register, with whom he bears almost professed enmity. Wigton being taxed in that misinformation, took occasion, in the council-day at Linlithgow, upon some idle words of the Register, to fall on him with most opprobrious words, as a base villain and poltroon, whom he threatened to stick, but was holden off him.

In the council-days following at Dalkeith there was much ado; the Treasurer, Roxburgh, and Lorn, dealing with all their might to cause the petitioners, for eschewing the appearance of multitude, to divide their supplications, and appear, the nobles, gentry, towns, ministry, severally, and that according to shires and presbyteries; these, that they would not deal with the bishops as parties, but seek the books to be away, and their matters helped without taxing any man's person; at least not to take them to the archbishops and bishops without exception, but to so many of them as they could find faulty. These points were so pressed, that Rothes and Loudon both were in yielding; but after advising, all concluded, that they neither could, by their commission, nor would, for many seen reasons; as also reasons to subscribe the complaint put abroad and penned by the author of the complaint, especially the losing of the subscriptions and hands which were at the complaint as it stood, and the division of the body, which so would infallibly ruin. For these and the like causes, they all peremptorily resolved, that one letter of the writs they would not alter, and in no case divide. They were content, at the council's pleasure, that in the most of their dealings with the council, there should appear but twelve chosen from the whole commissioners: Rothes, Loudon, Montrose, Lindsay, thir four nobles; Cunninghamhead, Keir, Aulbar, as I remember, from the gentry; James Cochran, John Smith,

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and the provost of Culrofs; Mr James Cunningham minister at Cumnock, and Mr Thomas Ramfey at Dumfries. The Treasurer was so earnest in agenting these matters, which they, after advisement, esteemed the loss of their cause, that fundry concluded him to be a most dangerous piece, and one in whom they might not trust. I think indeed that man holds the wolf by the ears, and has ado with all his parts, which truly are not found to be many and great; but whatever be his intention, my heart has a great respect to him. I take him to have been hitherto a very happy instrument to the church and kingdom, and a most true, faithful, and happy servant to the King. St Andrew's sat a diet or two in Dalkeith, and held off the council from receiving any of the petitioners complaints; which when they did find, they prepared a protestation; and being frustrated two or three diets, the counsellors rising abruptly, thinking to weary or shift them till the rising of the council, which drew near, at the Zuil vacance, they set two or three noblemen at the fore-door, with two notars, and their protestation; as many at the back-door, alike furnished, resolute to protest without farther delay. The council seeing there was no better, for fear of the protestation, did grant them assurance to hear fully what they did say: so on Tuesday the 20th of December the petitioners give in their bill, and the council give out their answer in a written subscribed act, for less would not content after so many shiftings.

The first diet at Dalkeith the counsellors thought to have eluded the vehement earnestness of the petitioners, as it seems by their letter to the Secretary; but that hope failing, and St Andrew's foreseeing the necessity to yield to the supplicants importunity, he gave over any more to come to council, and all the bishops with him: for all the petitioners complaints ran mainly to have the bishops declined, and so raised from the council-table; they thought meet therefore themselves to preveen, lest if they had been forced to it, it should have forstalled their cause. So then the last council-day, Thursday, the 22d of December, was acted the last part of our scene. The twelve petitioners come in name of all the commissioners. My Lord Loudon delivered his speech, and with it gave in the two old supplications, those of the 20th of September and 18th of October, which had lien in the clerk's hands, not acknowledged by the council, because discharged then to meddle

meddle therein; albeit privately they were looked on, and sent up also to the King underhand: also with these two old pieces were given in a new bill, and a declinature; and upon the delivery of these four writs, my Lord took instruments by a double piece in a notary's hand. Thereafter the two ministers spake. Mr James Cunningham's short speech moved all the counsellors, and drew tears from sundry of them. The postscript is right quick; so much the more as it could not be forethought. To all their writs and speeches was given an interlocutor.

The next question was, How all should be signified to his Majesty? All agreed, it was no way safe, nor sufficient, to commit the business to packet; that it was necessary altogether for some of the counsellors to go up to court. Both Traquair and Roxburgh seemed willing to accept the charge, if it had been laid on them; yea, to be emulous of it. Some inclined to the employing of the one, some of the other, most to both; at last, all the council resolved to write of the necessity of his Majesty's information by some of his servants, the choice of the men they remitted to his own discretion. With this the vacance came; all went home, but some few commissioners, appointed by turns to lie still in Edinburgh for all occurrences. When the country was away, the provost fell afresh to his policies, deals mightily to make the town supplicate apart, to seek the King's pardon for their tumults; gives them full assurance, will they but use these formalities, the King shall freely pardon them, shall quit them of the service-book for ever, except the whole kingdom be moved willingly to take it, which he thought could never be. From all his discourses from the beginning, he inveighed against the book as much as any, also that the council and session should be restored to them presently, and their privileges much augmented. It seems the man had undertaken to make that town come in the King's will; and so, for the effectuating of his promise, gave assurance of many things which neither he could, nor would be any ways careful to have performed. By this dealing he had prevailed with a great number of the council: but the commissioners that were in the town finding it going so, remonstrated to the town-council by James Cochran and John Smith, (very good instruments in all this matter), That their supplicating apart might be the betraying of the whole kingdom; for craving pardon for any thing
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some base people in the town, who could not be found, had done against the innovations of religion, would be a preparative to bring the whole city, and all in the kingdom who had opposed the book, within the compass of law, and the courtiers mercy; also that the crafts and commons would be inflamed to violent them all, if they would essay to conclude any such thing, as it is said they were indeed ready to do. Upon thir remonstrances, the provost's dealings evanished, and all the council resolved to stick by the rest of the kingdom, to defend their just cause by the law, and suffer all inconveniencies, ere they, as they had done too oft before, should be an evil preparative to the rest of the kingdom. In the mean time the President slips to court. The counsellors had advised and intreated him not to go, upon the nobles desire, who required, that none should be permitted to go, far less he, who was a professed enemy to them, and an agent for the bishops, that the King's information might be by those of the council whom they expected shortly the King himself would call for. Notwithstanding he went his way; but to the great malecontentment of all. His friends gave out, his only errand was, for his father's demission of the chancery, and composition therefor; for the settling of the session, which, to the great prejudice of all the members of the house, had long vaiked, and was longer like to vaik. In his way, it is said, he diverted to York and Durham, and some other of the bishops. When he came to the King, they say, his information was so hard, that the King was pensive, and did not eat well; but Lord Haddington hearing of his misreports, was bold to put in the King's hand a late missive which he had got from his good-brother Rothes, giving a short information of the country's proceedings; for the absolute truth whereof Haddington undertook. The reading of this somewhat contented the King; whereupon his mind being disposed towards the Treasurer, the Duke of Lennox wrote for him to court, and thereafter the King himself, and the Marquis of Hamilton also. With all this he went to Roxburgh, and shewed it to him, of whom he was jealous. Roxburgh was nothing content that he was not sent for; yet he pretended the necessity of his stay for his only son's marriage with Errol's daughter, and in the mean time did write with the Treasurer favourable letters to the King, in the

the prejudice of any information the President, or any other, could make.

The commissioners were very earnest that the Treasurer would take up an information, which Balmerino and Mr Archibald Johnston (the only advocate who in this cause is trusted) had penned, to present it together with their bill, which else would be but naked pieces. This he absolutely refused to look upon or touch, for he said he was to purge himself by oath to the King, that he had seen no such thing, only he was content it should go in his company, and assured it should come to the King's hand. So he went away with my Lord Orbiston, whom he keeps by all means to hold the Marquis fast. By the way he was almost drowned; he came out of the water, they say, hanging by his horse's tail. His porter being dismissed for evil service, set upon his lady, in the garden of Dalkeith, with a drawn sword; and had not other two servants gone betwixt, who both are hurt, the villain had certainly killed her. They say that Stirling is like to be disgraced; that the King being malecontent he was not more timely informed of all thir matters, the Treasurer shewed, that though they were discharged publickly to send any word of that business, yet they had acquainted ever privily the secretary, that he might advertise. This the secretary granted; but shewed that he was hindered by Canterbury to present the King some pieces. Canterbury denied this, hoping to bring Stirling off another way, though in this he succumbed: but all this is but uncertain rumours. So ye have all I know in this matter, whether true or false: readily there is not any one from whom ye can get a more full narration. I have conferred, and had use of the writs of these who had chief hand in all the matter, both of the nobility, gentry, and ministry: for your satisfaction I was the more curious; what will be the end, no living can guess. If God be pleased to bring upon us the year of our visitation, the devil could never invented so pregnant a means, and ruined this while one and all from the prince to the plowman: for will the prince, at the clergy's desire, go on in violence to press their course, the mischiefs are present, horrible, in a clap; will he relent, and give way to our supplications! the danger is not yet past: we wot not where to stand, when the books of canons and service are burnt and away, when the high commission is down; when the
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articles of Perth are made free, when the bishops authority is hemmed in with never so many laws; this makes us not secure from their future danger: so whatever the prince grants, I fear we press more than he can grant; and when we are fully satisfied, it is likely England will begin where we have left off, to crave order of the greater and more intolerable abuses of their clergy; so that it is not probable our dangers can be soon easily evited; to preveen thir, the course we use is humiliation in private and publick, which indeed has gone oft through the most of our congregations. If God be pleased to be gracious, we know he has wisdom to turn this affair, which may wrack all, to the redressing of all, to purge the church of all leaven, tyranny of the English bishops, whereunder it long has groaned, to give to our laws and parliaments the old and full liberty and truth, to join the heart of the King and his subjects faster in love than ever, and remove the jealousies and griefs, whereof the minds of both this time bygone has been replenished, to enable us to help the churches abroad, and to contribute all our forces of wit, learning, and arms, against the Antichristian faction. Thir are our prayers and slender hopes in the midst of our desperate fears.

Thus far I had written long ago, but now many things are fallen out. The Treasurer came back from court the 19th of February. About eight days before, his man had come down with a peremptory command, by sound of trumpet, to cause the members of session to be at Stirling, for their office. The Lords obeyed; but the advocates of any note would not go thither. The Treasurer, when he met with the nobles, assured them, with oaths and great asseverations, that he had no direction from the King concerning the supplications. In this Roxburgh joined with him; but from friends at court, they were informed of the contrary, and shortly the privy intelligence at home got a double of the King's injunctions, which was a proclamation to be made at Stirling February 20. wherein the King took the books on himself, and discharged the bishops of all fault, condemned all the supplications and subscriptions, and all meetings and commissions hitherto for that end; but pardoned bygones, discharging all such meeting in time to come, under the highest pains; and yet was willing to hear supplications which did not encroach on his royal prerogative, either in matter or
1 manner,

manner, as the former had done. This coming out to light, posts went forth athort the whole country, with an information written by Mr Archibald Johnston, for to him the prior informations, both from court and other-ways, oft after midnight, are communicated. This information the bishops cast on the Treasurer, and so it is thought; yet Mr Archibald assured me it came from none of his.

This alarm being given, all made haste. The Treasurer finding his purpose revealed, intended to have the proclamation precipitated. He had before perswaded the nobility that only two should go to Stirling, where he assured no prejudice should be done to their cause: but it was found he intended to keep these two, Rothes and Lindsay, prisoners in the castle of Stirling; therefore the nobility resolved to go together. To prevent this, the Treasurer and Roxburgh went from Edinburgh a little after midnight. One of the footmen being taking a drink in a tavern where a man of Lindsay's, I think, lay, told, that his master was that early on his horse for Stirling. His companion was not long in advertising his master; who at once awakened more of the nobility: so Lindsay and Hume took post, and outrode the Treasurer; the rest followed at leisure. The Treasurer not finding a number for a quorum, without council, made proclamation in the morning. Hume and Lindsay stood in the cross with the Lion herald, and made a protestation. The council met in the afternoon, approved the proclamation; which was much marvelled at, especially that Angus and Napier should put their hands to it. It was thought that Lorn, Southesk, Lauderdale, and Wigton, should be put off council; but we see it was not so. Angus and Napier hath showed their repentance for their rashness. The Advocate coming to-morrow, would by no means subscribe the act of approbation of that proclamation, for this reason especially, that the King's direction in it was transgressed; for the King's warrant bare but the highest pain, but the proclamation bare the pain of treason. Thir things hath alienated much the minds of the nobility from the Treasurer, both that he should have deceived with his oaths, and also extended his commission to the uttermost bounds, if not beyond, to the ruin of their cause and persons. Yet it is said for him, that at court he was put in great danger of his place. The King

pressed him upon thirty-eight articles in writ, furnished by the President against him ; wherein he gave the King reasonable answers, withal that he gave the King a full information of all the writs and deeds had past, that he had brought the King to a tolerable mood, till letters came from the Chancellor, assuring, that as the noblemen who were banded for the slaughter of David Rizzio, disbanded and fled away so soon as the Queen, his good-dame, had proclaimed them traitors ; so upon the King's condemning the nobles proceedings, and discharging them hereafter under these pains, all this combination would vanish, and the King would so come by his intent. Thir letters altered the King's mind, and put him to take the course which may prove wonderful unhappy : peremptorily he commands the Treasurer to execute it, and for his fidelity and secrecy put him to his oath. This he undertook ; yet leaving under his hand his contrary opinion and advice. However, the Treasurer, who indeed hath been an happy instrument in this business, is like to lose both the King and the country, which will seem sweetness to the bishops in the midst of their ruins. The charge was to remove from the town in six hours. The noblemen who came in frequently against the afternoon, stayed all that night, and for no request would remove ; for they alledged their protestation did warrant them. Yet when the Chancellor and the Treasurer had yoked their coaches to depart, protesting that the council and session would break up as troubled by them, they were content to go ; and so they did, leaving direction to those who came there to attend the common business, to follow them to Edinburgh ; also when the council met for the admission of my Lord Down to their number, Arthur Erskine and Polmais thronging in with the multitude, after the ushing of the house, did present the declinature, and took instruments thereupon. My Lord Down subscribed presently the supplication, to the great discontentment, as they say, of Murray his father. The Bishop of Galloway was like to have received injury in Stirling ; but the magistrates saw to him. In his return at Falkirk, the wives railed and stoned him with stones, and were some of them punished. Also at Dalkeith, upon Sunday, the wives so railed upon him, that the Treasurer put two of them in prison. The Bishop is in great fear and danger, and shows little of his old desire of martyrdom in this so good a cause. When
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we came to Edinburgh, the 22d of February, we found that the proclamation had been repeated there, that sixteen noblemen had gone up to the cross with the Lion herald, and after the reverent hearing of the King's proclamation, had caused Mr Archibald Johnston, at the same time and place, to proclaim their protestation. In the mean time the country gathers fast to the town. The noblemen, gentry, cities, and ministers, meet in several rooms. The noblemen, with Mr Alexander Henderson and Mr D. D. resolves the renewing the old covenant for religion. A little inkling is given out of this at first to the rest: Mr D. D. is employed in the College church to preach, where, in a great congregation before noon, he shows the expediency of renewing the covenant. Mr Henry Pollock seconds that motion, with amplication, in the afternoon, in the Greyfriars. Mr John Adamson strikes the same string before noon. Mr A. Ramsey, in the afternoon, for sparing, was disliked. The other two kirks are not regarded. Mr Henderson's plainness made me suspect, their intention in the new covenant was, to make us forswear bishops and ceremonies in our meeting. I had discovered in some the same mind, alledging over and over that the Achan of our land was the breach of our covenant, in admitting, against the oath of our nation, that government of bishops and articles of Perth. To this I gave so sharp and modest a reply, that excluded thereafter this motion from this meeting. But I was filled with fear and great perplexity, lest the bond, which I found was in conceiving, should contain any such clauses; for this I thought would inevitably open a gap, and make a present division in the ministry, which was the earnest desire and sure victory of the bishops. This I caused remonstrate to the noblemen; which they took well, and made Loudon show me, and Mr G. Young, whom I had sent to Loudon to declare my fears, their writ, which was scrolled, professing their mind, to give us all contentment, and rather to destroy it than that thereby any rent should be made amongst us. The writ had three parts. 1. The old covenant, word by word, as ye have it in the harmony of confessions, after our confession of faith. The next consists of acts of parliament, which are for our confession against Popery. The 3d has an application to the present case. In this was all the difficulty; for there were, indeed, clauses in it requiring the suspension of our

practice, and of our approbation of bishops and ceremonies. After reasoning, it was yielded to me to change this clause, "to forbear a practice." I shewed it was ever my mind, since I was a minister; but not to approve in judgment it was impossible still I was otherwise informed: so they required but my disallowance of the corruptions of the bishops government; whereunto I yielded. Some other clauses, which might have seemed to import a defence in arms against the King, this I could not yield to in any imaginable case; for the grounds I had learned from Monsieur Cameron I had not yet leisure to try; so for the present I could subscribe nothing which was against my mind. These were also changed; so that no word remains in this writ which in any congruity can be drawn against the prince; but many sentences are expressly to the contrary: so in thir two points of my fears, Loudon, by his wisdom and equity, gave me contentment. This courtesy was due to me; both because they hoped what would content my scrupulous mind, might by appearance satisfy others who were of my judgement, whereof there was a great number; as also for the regard to myself, to whom they profess some respect for my pains in this cause, not only in my first writ of queries, but also of my second of the parallel, whereby they esteemed their cause somewhat furthered; beside that they expected, that I being satisfied, would be an instrument to give others contentment, as since they have found. Lord Cassils had my scruple against the defence with arms. He sent for me; but I eschewed to confirm him in that which he professed we had from Monsieur Cameron. He got in a clause in the writ which contented his mind. Thus we being contented, they ventured yesterday to present it to our meeting. Rothes, Loudon, Auldbar, and others came down. They read it first in private, to a number of us who were commissioners from presbyteries, and thereafter to all. The objections which were moved by some few were soon satisfied: all being interrogate man by man, gave their hearty assent; only some three or four brethren of Angus, who had sworn obedience to the bishop, could not find how to dispense with their practice and oath. Rothes finding our great harmony, departed with the profession of great joy: for this union was the great pillar of the cause; and it could never have been obtained, if distraction had been in the ministry who had subscribed the former

former supplication, which mischance was much feared; and indeed great occasion had the imprudence and rigidity of the first formers of that writ given of these fears. It is expected that this day the hands of all estates shall be put to it, and thereafter a declaration shall be made of our innocency in this whole proceeding, and of the injustice of the bishops, with an earnest desire to have our prince informed of the truth of this cause, by way of the most humble supplication. To-morrow, in Stirling, is expected a frequent council, where there is hope that the council will lay the wyte of all thir evils upon the bishops back. What will be next, the Lord knows! we are to humble ourselves in fasting and prayer. It becomes you well there, and all the Reformed churches over sea, to commend our cause heartily to God, as we have oft done for you in the like case. We have no assurance or warrant yet that any one line of the book shall be remitted, but hopes are made of withdrawing both liturgy, and canons, and commission, and all, if we would let the bishops alone; but the most part are peremptorily resolved not to endure any longer their lawless tyranny.

A narration of proceedings from the 21st of December, to the end of February.

THE Lords of Secret Council having received from the supplicants their petition, complaints, bill, and declination of bishops, at Dalkeith, the 21st of December, promising to represent the same to his Majesty's royal consideration, as concerning matters of that consequence wherein they could not determine by themselves; their Lordships were then pressed earnestly by the supplicants, not only to recommend these, but to intreat the Treasurer and Privy Seal to carry the supplications, &c. and inform his Majesty in these matters; which did well besit their places, being the greatest affairs that ever had fallen within the compass of their considerations; because a dumb information, though never so exact, was not capable of replies, nor could it anticipate such doubts as his Majesty might propone. This desire was often repeated in private to the Treasurer and Privy Seal, by divers of the supplicants, with a demonstration of those evils which might follow from his Majesty's want of information and knowledge of the true estate of business here.

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The longing desire of the supplicants for their answer made them appoint some of their number to attend at Edinburgh, for getting and giving notice of the Treasurer's return from England, being expected about the 12th or 14th of February. The supplicants being advertised, many of them resorted hither; who being together at his coming to Edinburgh, February 15th, and expecting their answer to their supplications, two of their number were sent to enquire for the same. Being with Privy Seal, he denied his having answer to them, or that he knew any certain time when they might expect the same, or by whom; only he believed they should have it shortly. He acknowledged not that the council had recommended to him the carrying, and of informing of his Majesty anent the supplications; but that his Majesty had received the supplications, and considered them. The Treasurer and Privy Seal taxing the petitioners for impatience in waiting his Majesty's answer, were answered, "It was now near
" half a year since the first supplication was delivered to
" the council in September, and the matter concerning
" wrong done to religion ought to have been speedily re-
" ported to his Majesty, as being the Lord's deputy o-
" ver his people, especially for preservation of that re-
" ligion whereunto himself is subject as well as the
" people, God having always expressed such displeasure
" at the corruption of his true worship, or introducing
" any seed of superstition or idolatry, who was always
" informed of these things they petitioned against, that
" they are confident they would have obtained a speedy
" redress from so good and religious a prince, if he had
" been truly informed, or not prevented by such sug-
" gestions as excused or covered the unsoundness of these
" books, and wickedness of these other novations;" and
affured, "That if the matter had only concerned their
" own lives and fortunes, they would have patiently en-
" dured the longest delay of his Majesty's resolution;
" but this matter might excuse importunity in them, and
" required expedition from his Majesty." They finding
the Treasurer spare to discover any thing concerning
this business, parted, to make report of their obscure an-
swer.

On the 16th, some of the supplicants got notice of a proclamation to be made, which contained his Majesty's approbation of the service-book, as only fit for the use of
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the holy church, and taking on himself the causing form it; a dispensing with the nobility and gentry for their by-gone meetings; and a discharge of all the meetings hereafter, under the pain of treason. Whereupon four or five of the supplicants were sent from the rest, to the Treasurer and Privy Seal; who meeting first with Privy Seal, and disclosing to him the tenor of the supplication, he seemed unwilling to speak any thing thereof, professing he had no commission, and knew nothing of the business. Going to the Treasurer, and expressing their grief at the said proclamation, they desired to know the truth of him; who refused to make known to any what he was commanded to deliver to the council only; and keeping all very close, seemed to press the necessity of inhibiting meetings, and that by proclamation. It was answered, "That the obedience of the charge was the way to let all those evils come upon them wherewith the church and state were threatened: for they met together to advise anent supplicating, and consulting about the best ways for preventing evils; and as the end was lawful, so had they never fallen in disorders at their meetings, neither in word nor action, but had always concurred in electing the best and humblest motions, restraining these that were rude; which would have appeared, and given offence, if ilk shire had petitioned apart; and if they should stay at home, what could they do, but endure every one whatsoever was imposed, and so the church and state to suffer?"

These returning to the rest of their number, they all resolved to send four or five to Stirling, to give information to the counsellors concerning the proclamation, as after follows. 1. The supplicants had been from time to time put in good hopes of a gracious answer, especially by the act of council in August last, declaring, the buying of the service-book, and not the using of it, was only intended, and by his Majesty's declaration in December last; but by this proclamation their former hopes would be turned into fears. 2. That the proclaiming of a dispensation to the supplicants, for that which they were assured they were doing in duty both to God and his Majesty, would either make his mercy misregarded, or force them to condemn their own doings, so justifiable before God and the world. 3. That the prohibiting such like peaceable proceeding, under the pain of treason, would make the

the supplicants either incur the imputation of treason, or else be cast all into the hands of the adversaries, and cast themselves loose of religion, liberty, and peace, against the duty which they owe to God, the church, and the country. 4. That, contrary to the King's declaration in December last, this proclamation transferred the guilt of these novations from the prelates upon the King's Majesty; not that he can be judged the author thereof, but that they may escape censure; whereby it is hard to say, whether his Majesty be more dishonoured, or justice frustrate, or his Majesty's good subjects disappointed. 5. That the supplicants tremble, that after so many supplications and declarations, bearing the manifold seeds of heresy, superstition, and idolatry, to be contained in the service-book, it should be declared, by proclamation, to be the form of God's publick worship, and the mean of maintaining true religion, and holding out of superstition, which must make the subjects either receive what their consciences condemn, or directly oppose themselves against his Majesty's proclamation. 6. Since that many worthy counsellors have regretted the passing of the first act in favour of the service-book, and made many excuses for the same, the supplicants are confident, that having a new occasion of more mature deliberation, they would rather give counsel to his Majesty to chuse a course that may give satisfaction to the desire of his good people, than by confirming so summar a conclusion, grieve many, wound their own hearts, and work farther disturbance in the church and country.

The Treasurer and Privy Seal hearing, that some were to be directed to Stirling, sent for three or four of the supplicants; and understanding their resolution, pressed to dissuade the same: but these shew the necessity they conceived thereof, and that for preventing the inconvenience of the proclamation, which would prove so hurtful, falling upon the particulars in the information; and upon the report, that the burrows were excluded from the dispensation offered to the nobility and gentry by the proclamation, that a criminal suit might be intended against Edinburgh, shewed a resolution in the whole supplicants to intend a criminal pursuit against the bishops and their followers, as soon as the other should be awakened, and that for scandalising so many of the faithful subjects to be mutinous and rebellious, for opposing innovations brought

in religion by them against the laws, and their exercising of the judicatories not established by parliament, to the heavy oppression of the lieges; for the which faults, as in law their lives could not escape, so these in Edinburgh did not fall within the compass of law for life or fine, considering how little they did, how great evils were informed upon them, and what was their magistrates dealing towards them. The supplicants, upon better advisement, found a necessity of using a declinature at Stirling, lest their two bishops should sit in judgement, and give out any act in that business, wherein they were declared parties, and ought to be declined, resolving to propone the said declinature only by two of their number. They were advertised upon Sunday in the morning, that some of the bishops followers had said, that the proclamation would inhibit any of the supplicants to appear where the council sat; that if they should present the declinature, they should be put fast; which made the supplicants to determine to go together to Stirling, and to be present in the town at the proponing thereof; thinking, that being together, they were more able to give the council information and satisfaction, than by so few, who might be dazzled with difficulties of new propositions and actions not expected: and few hours after this resolution, some of the supplicants, by permission of the rest, declared the same to the Treasurer and Privy Seal for preventing a mistake; who immediately sent for four of the supplicants, wishing them to change their resolution of going to Stirling, and expostulating with them for the way of carrying their business, alleging, if the supplicants had followed their advice, in supplicating apart, and against the book of common prayer, canons, and high commission only, it had succeeded better with them; that they might have petitioned for the rest of their grievances, after once hearing and proving fully their first complaints; that, by appearance, the King would never hear them so long as they complained upon bishops; and assured, that they now saw their own error in not following their former advice. It was answered, That being a publick business, which concerns the whole kingdom, and the matters of such consequence, it could not be carried in so private a way as your Lordships proposed; the matters being such as religion and policy were extremely wronged, the subjects thereat grieved, behoved to have recourse to their prince, for commanding

ing redress by the ordinary course of law, which hath been always customable to subjects in the like case; and if the whole supplicants had been so trustful in a matter so great and universal, as if it had been any of their own particulars, their Lordships could not but have engaged lives, fortunes, and honour, for a good success to follow their advice; and though their supplications being restrained, as your Lordships desired, might get audience; yet if, after supplicating against these other evils that are the root which hath produced such fruits, his Majesty should then refuse to hear any further, would it not have grieved them to see the subjects suffer by the relying upon unpaunded trust, and the whole envy transferred from the bishops upon their own heads? They asking them, what course the supplicants would take? were answered, they would propone their declinature at Stirling for the reasons foresaid. They saying it will be refused, were answered, the supplicants would then protest for an immediate course to his Majesty, upon their denial of justice, and present their supplication to his Majesty's self. They doubting if his Majesty will accept the same, were answered, the supplicants would do their duty, and commit the event to God Almighty, who is sufficiently able to protect his own cause, and their just proceedings. Thus parting, and returning to the rest of the supplicants, they appointed four or five of their number to go very timely to Stirling, for preventing the Treasurer and Privy Seal their accustomed diligence in omitting no means that might conduce to their ends, and also the council-day was appointed to be the following Tuesday at ten o'clock. Yet was the Treasurer and Privy Seal on horseback by two o'clock, and in Stirling by eight in the morning on Monday the 19th; but were outrode by some of the supplicants, whose being before them made them expect the coming of the rest, and so convened all the counsellors present in the town to hasten out the proclamation before their coming. The counsellors then present could not make a quorum; yet they proceeded with their proclamation at the market-crofs by ten o'clock, where the supplicants made protestation. The rest of the supplicants coming after noon, and hearing of the proclamation, went to the Treasurer, Privy Seal, and other officers of state, requiring a sight of the proclamation, that they might advise with the same; who denied it till it should be proclaimed in other places; but by relation,

tion, they smoothing the contents thereof, and differing much from others who heard it read at the cross, made the supplicants uncertain what it contained; who resolving to leave no lawful means untried, sent one of their number to the clerk of council, requiring only a sight of the proclamation for their perusal; upon whose refusal, instruments were taken. The counsellors grudged to find so many resort to Stirling, who had come very frequently from all the adjacent places, and that upon very small advertisement. The Treasurer and Privy Seal sent for some of the supplicants; who being asked, what they were minded to do? they shewed them they would use a declinature, and, in case that was refused, a protestation, as they told them at Edinburgh. They renewing their often-repeated motions of division without success, were earnest, that the supplicants should remove all out of the town, seeing they were to do no more in that business. The supplicants objected the ratifying of the proclamation in council, which as yet wanted that warrant; they assured them of the contrary very firmly, as also gave assurance, that no prejudice should be offered to those who presented the declinature or protestation. Whereupon they undertook to deal with the rest of the supplicants; who being convened in the kirk, filled the same; and with very great difficulty obtained their consent to remove after dinner toward Edinburgh, upon the relation of the assurance they had got the proclamation should not be ratified in council; and having appointed some few of their number to stay, and propound the declinature and protestation foresaid. After dinner, as they were going to Edinburgh, two or three of the supplicants went to the Treasurer and Privy Seal, having some other counsellors with them, and desired their stay should not be interpreted to proceed from contempt, for they could not obtain a sight of the proclamation, neither from their Lordships nor the clerk; having asked it, and taken instruments of his refusal, thereby to be informed what it enjoined; and although it had no legal strength, yet conceiving it to be a declaration of his Majesty's mind, which they had been, and would always be, most willing to obtemper, without prejudice of the cause they had in hand, they were resolved to depart. When the noblemen were gone, the council met in the castle of Stirling at four o'clock, where two of the supplicants gave in the declinature; which being refused, contrary to the

act of council at Dalkeith, they protested, and offered to take instruments in the notar's hands: and being reproached, that they brought in common notars before the council, they offered to take instruments in the clerk of council's hands; which he refused; whereupon they took instruments in their own writer's hands. That night the council ratified the proclamation. One who had the informations, and saw the forementioned promise was not kept, hearing thereof, caused deliver some of them the next morning to some counsellors there who most relished religion, and best knew the service-book; who being informed, found themselves ensnared by their own consent, and were heavily grieved. The proclamation was made at Linlithgow, Wednesday, the 20th of February; where protestation was made, as at Stirling, by three or four of the supplicants; and at Edinburgh the 21st, where a great number of noblemen, barons, ministers, and other supplicants, standing within and about the cross, after the proclamation was read, the protestation was also read publickly, and instruments taken in the hands of notars. On Friday the 23d, the number of the nobles and others being increased, at their meeting, they traced the suggestion to fundry of the supplicants labouring divided supplications, which was generally disliked, and a new way of dealing with the council, by way of supplication, restrained by the service-book, canons, and high commission, which was apprehended by very few. This made all consider the particular condition and former proceedings of these prime statesmen, principal suggesters of such motions: and although the Treasurer and Privy Seal, both for the greatness of their fortunes, and hereditary conditions, were considerable with the chiefest of this land, as deeply interested in the good of this state, which, with their approved understanding, might induce the expectation of all needful care and faithful carriage befitting their place, interest, and knowledge; and though they seemed extremely grieved for their present evils, and, by frequent information, fully perceived the root from whence they flow; yet the preservation of their places and credit with his Majesty, by appearance hath made them forbear to do or inform fully about these who they thought were so acceptable to his Majesty; and many of the bishops being the yoke-fellows with them in the burden of the state, and others of that mind watching over their ways, and
ready

ready to inform against them, for any thing that appears not conducive to their end, and obtaining solicitations from persons of power in their own favour to the said statesmen, has made them all this while to labour rather the quenching of the pain, than the curing of the disease, and to make a diversion from the root of evils by a fair address of these supplicants, for the present pruning of the branches. All their proceedings in this business being fully considered, was found to intend this end, such complaining being fitter for the servants of a person than of a state. Some of them, by words and actions, so much laboured amidst right and wrong, as they will, except they mend it, get the like recompence to them who endeavour reconciliation betwixt Protestants and Papists, which is neither thanks nor trust from either, as our own late experience proveth. Bishops had their commissaries.

5. To Mr William Spang. April 5.

—The doubles of the King's proclamation, and the country's protestation, with the newly-subscribed covenant, I would have sent you, according to my promise in my last, had not Mr Wilkie assured me, that he would have them at you before this. The great business among us since that time has been, to have that confession subscribed by all hands; and through all hands almost has it gone, of noblemen at home, who are not counsellors or Papists, unto whom it was not offered. I think they be within four or five who have not subscribed: all the shires have, by their commissioners, and all the towns, except Aberdeen, St Andrew's, and Crail; yea, the particular gentlemen, burgeses, and ministers, have put to their hands, and the parishes through the whole country, on a Sabbath, where the ministers could be persuaded. Annan himself has thus far proceeded, to all our admiration; our marvel is increased, when he is said to repent it, and to say, he was constrained to do what he did. The man is so resolute, and the oaths of this writ are so frequent, clear, and deep, that who has taken them, I think, he cannot readily recall them. I hear for truth, that he is put in a great dump, and, after some trouble of body and mind, has gone to Glasgow and Edinburgh; to what purpose, I cannot say. I suspect Air's motion to him to con-
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sent to receive a helper, which they would name, and provide him, without any diminution of his stipend, has troubled him more than any thing else; for they seem peremptory to have a minister conjunct with him, and that either Mr Blair, or Mr Dunbar their old minister, or such a man as will beat down Mr Annan, and so kill him, when he has lost the bishops his old friends. This peremptory and unexpected motion, I fear, is the cause of his perplexity and change, if he make any. The greatest opposites in the west to this subscription are our friends in Glasgow; all the college without exception, Mr Jo. Maxwell, Mr Jo. Bell younger, and Mr Zacharias. They are not only withdrawers of their hands, but pathetic reasoners against it. How this comes, I will not say; but I have my own thoughts; yet old Mr Bell and Mr Wilkie are passionately for it, albeit half-derided by the other as simple fools. It is like to fall out evil among them. The body of the burgeses have subscribed. Lord Boyd, old Blair, Keir, Mess. Dick, Wallace, and I, went in, as commissioners from the meeting of Edinburgh, to deal with the college and ministers to join with the rest: but I foresaw it was in vain; for no reasoning could move any of them to pass from the smallest of their scruples, which yet they multiplied. We left them resolved to celebrate the communion on Pasch in the High church kneeling; but Mess. Wilkie and Bell are resolved to pass that day, and the next Sabbath to celebrate, sitting, in the Laigh kirk. After our departure with small contentment, they agreed to delay all celebration for a time, and so intimated to the people from the pulpit; but when it was found, that Mr Bell and Wilkie would delay only Pasch-day, and no longer, Mr Maxwell and young Mr Bell, thinking their credit and interest hurt in ceding thus far, made intimation to the people at the evening-prayers on Saturday to come to-morrow to the communion in the High church. Some few base people came, and filled four or five tables, who were served by the Principal and Mr Maxwell. Next Saturday, Mr D. Dickson had the preparation-sermon in the Laigh kirk, and Mr Maxwell in the High; to the one's sermon all flocked who could throng in; to the others fewer. This, I fear, be a proclamation of red war among the clergy of that town; but the plea, I think, shall be shortly rid. To Aberdeen the burrows sent Mr Robert Barclay, provost of Air, and the clerk of Dundee, in commission;

mission; but thir people, by the Marquis of Huntly's instigation, and the northland bishops, were so preoccupied, that wilfully, without allegation of reason, they refused. Their doctors for the most part are favourers of the books; and how far ourselves of Glasgow, or any non-subscribers, are opposite to the books, I cannot speak much for the present. D. Baron has given out something in writ for the book, whereof I am sorry; not for the writ itself; for if the piece be it I saw, it is a very poor one, that will never hurt our cause; but because I tender the man's estimation as one who was half-designed to our theologick profession in Glasgow, which he can never attain to with any tolerable contentment of our country, were he an angel, if once he have touched paper in maintenance of the book. Edinburgh continues constant. Mr Henry and Andrew, yea, Mr Robert Blair, Mr John Hamilton, and Mr John Livingston, preach there to the people's heart. Mr Matt. Weems in the Canongate, Mr Forfar in North Leith, all the college, principal, D. Sharp, regents, all the scholars, except Mr Robert Rankin and Mr Jo. Brown, with some few others with them, have subscribed and sworn. The ministers of Stirling, before the Lords of Session, are inveighing daily against the bishops. St Andrew's itself, we hear, for the most part have subscribed. What shall be the end, God knows! The council sent Lord Orbiston to court, with the instructions here inclosed. The noblemen sent Mr John Livingston before him, with what instructions I know not; but it was fore against my mind that he should be employed at this time, being a book-man, a rigid and passionate preacher, and, which was worst, standing under the sentence of excommunication of the Irish church. He was not at court four hours till the King spoke of his coming, of the way and manner of his voyage: this made him post back, after, at most, a day's lurking about London. It is thought, that Orbiston, who overtook him by the way, and outrode him, behoved to be the informer; which will impair much of that trust which Orbiston hitherto enjoyed among us. The noblemen drew up a common letter, to be presented by the Earl of Haddington to the Duke, Marquis, and Morton, conjunctly, intreating them, if they thought to undertake the presentment of their supplications to the King. The letter and supplication I will strive to send to you with the next; thir were not ready when
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Mr Livingston went away. Orbiston at his return filled the country with good news; but we found thereafter, that all resolved on the King's letters calling up Roxburgh, the Treasurer, and Lorn, to consult before any farther was proceeded in that matter, according to one of the articles of these instructions which Orbiston carried up, and did nothing please the country; for we thought them only but compliments, and inclining to censure our meetings of unlawfulness. However, we are informed, that the best lawyers, Hope, Nicolson, and Stewart, being consulted by the King, declared all our bypast proceedings to be legal. The three counsellors are to court: we are full of fears; for the Treasurer has lost all his trust with us. Privy Seal never had any. We tremble for Lorn, that the King either persuade him to go his way, or find him errands at court for a long time. Brechin and Ross are both to court, the most unhappy of all the bishops. It is said, that Ross, before he went from home, was affrighted with the boys, who burnt the service-book where he was. This made him slip away disguised over the mount. It seems, according to Orbiston's instructions, that the King has called up these two of the clergy as his former informers. We are praying to God, and wish you to concur with us, that this affair, now in the balance, may have a fair end. Our country is at the point of breaking loose; our laws this twelve months has been silent; divers misregard their creditors; our highlands are making ready their arms, and some begin to murder their neighbours. Douglas, Abercorn, and Semple, are openly arming among us; readily, after their example, other noblemen will provide presently their houses with muskets, pikes, powder, and lead. We hope, that since the Palatinate is gone to Germany, and the King has sent to Hamburg to renew the league with Sweden, since the London prentices, as we hear, forces the delivery of Canterbury's prisoners, and sundry there intends a legal process against the bishops usurpations, we hope, that a peaceable decision may come from court. But we fear God will not let us go so soon out of the snare, so small hitherto has been our repentance: the violence also which we see breathed out of the bishops mouths against their opposites, and the country's undissembled rage against them, as the only authors and contrivers of all this danger, I fear it end not smoothly. Mr R. Hamilton and Mr John Lindsay have
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been very ill used in Lanerk by the women, as I doubt not Mr William Wilkie will inform you. Mr Hamilton resolved to be fully revenged for his wounds; and for this end wrote sharply to the Treasurer and Chancellor: yet all lies over. This same may further the mischief.—

6. To Mr William Spang.

— After the departure of Privy Seal and the Treasurer, Lorn also went up. He was sent for by a private missive, not by a letter to the council, as the other two: his going was against the heart of many of his friends; yet he was peremptory to obey. There followed the Chancellor, President, Register, Rofs, Brechin, Galloway; the Marquis shortly after called up for Orbiston. We were all long in suspense for news: at last we heard of the violent and wicked counsel of Rofs and the Chancellor, shewing, that a party might easily be made within the country; that Huntly, and Aberdeen, Seafort, Mackay, Grant, and the northland clans, who had not subscribed, might easily oversway all the subscribers, with the concurrence of Hamilton, Douglas, Niddisdale, &c. if so be the King will employ a little of his force, and lay by Lorn. For the preveening of this, diligence was used to send some lawyers to the uttermost north, who obtained the hands of all these clans to the covenant of the country, with most of the name of Hamilton, Douglas, Gordon, and all the Campbells without exception. Not a burges of St Andrew's or Dundee refused; and in Aberdeen there will be as few recusants as in Glasgow. This word being sent to court, made the King mislike Rofs's advice. Great has been the accusations of our bishops against the Treasurer, as one who had intelligence in this matter with the country; and his recriminations against them was great, as these who by their miscarriages and imprudences had miscooked all the matter. The course they resolved upon, after many to's and fro's, was, to send down the Marquis of Hamilton, with a commission to treat with Morton, Haddington, Treasurer, and Privy Seal, as assessors. The offers they are to make are secret. We hear they are such as will give no kind of contentment; albeit the bishops are confident they are so reasonable, as will give content to many, and so be able to make a division among the

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subscribers, which to them is a won field. To prevent this, the noblemen and commissioners drew up these things they were minded to crave, and without the which they could not be content, which they sent athort the country, and to court also, for the Marquis's sight: for when the noblemen had returned answer to our letters, the Duke to Montrose, the Marquis to Rothes, Morton to Lindsay, that the King was to give an answer to their desires by proclamation, and thought not meet to answer or look upon the supplication, which they sent back closed as they got it; our noblemen hearing that this proclamation was to come down with the Marquis, they wrote up to him earnestly, not to accept any commission wherein he had not full power to give the country some reasonable contentment. However it be, the commission is put on him. His letters are come to all his friends to meet him at Haddington the 1st of June. The Treasurer and Lorn are returned, and holden a council at Dalkeith; has written for all the counsellors, none of the bishops are forgot, to meet at Dalkeith the 6th of June in council, with the Marquis of Hamilton, the King's commissioner. The commissioners here at Edinburgh have advertised all the country to be in Edinburgh some days before. What will be the event of this great day, God knows! We cannot hear that the Marquis is to offer farther than the recalling of the books, and limitation of the high commission; and that upon the condition, or rather command, that we surrender all our subscribed covenants, and lie under the old danger of Perth articles, and the bishops unlimited tyranny. If this be not accepted, as there is no appearance it will ever be, we are threatened with a bloody onset by the navy on the east coast, by an Irish army on the west, by all the power three marquisses in Scotland and the Popish party can make with the north of England. We have indicted a general fast the 3d of June. In God is our great confidence. We see yet nothing but appearance of mischief. Our people many of them are not humbled, nor in the state of penitents. Our bishops and their followers are yet in a fury, and have ado with a people like themselves. You write not to me what your people in Holland think of our matters. We hear that your Conservator has written to the King, that some munition is coming to us from Campvere; be assured, if it be true, he could not do us an office we would take in worse part. Some are muttering that you are in your church-

church-service practising some part of our books. I think you are not mad at thir times needlessly to side with the unhappy and unjust party ; what the matter is, write to me in your next. If you mint to any such thing, expect a short deposition ; and if the burrows be overthrown, that they cannot remove you, be assured to be removed out of their hearts for ever. We know yet no other but that our religion, liberties, lives, are in extreme danger : the Lord help us. Lorn has been very plain with the King ; and now, when he is returned, is as far our way as ever, God be thanked. The Marquis thought to be changed to the King's way : all makes for the ruin of this isle ; and I see yet no mean to remeid it. Canterbury will remit nought of his benfail : he will break ere he bow one inch : he is born it seems for his own and our destruction ; yet there is a God. When our nobles were on the point of departure from court, the Bishop of Ross presented some sheets of paper, penned by Brechin, against the Treasurer ; this stayed their journey some days. Galloway sided here with the Treasurer ; but Brechin, with a marvellous ingratitude, became a traitor to him, revealing all his secrets he had gathered in his company. Much foul flyting was among them. The matter is rather delayed than fully compounded ; however, some are come home, and the rest are expected daily.

7. To Mr William Spang. July 22.

— After our gracious soveraign had taken at length information of these he sent for to court, and of the bishops who came up unsent for, it is thought he was perplexed for some days, tossed here and there with diversity of resolutions. The bloody counsel of St Andrew's and Ross, upon assurance of a sufficient party in the country, was past from, not only by our noblemens contrary assurance of the vanity of that expedition, evidenced by the catalogue of the subscribers, especially of the north-land men, of whom the chief hopes were made ; but these bloody conclusions were cast also, by the advice of the English counsellors, who are said to have spoken freely of the injustice of such a course, and the danger it was like to bring to the state of England, as things went, their deep malecontentments laying for many years, but overplastered

verplaistered without any solid cure. The plainness of Lorn is much talked of; nothing he is said to have dissembled of all he knew of our country's grievances, of his own full dislike of the books, and of the articles of Perth, of the bishops misgovernment, of his resolution to leave the kingdom rather than consent to the pressing of any other, let be of himself or his servants, with these burdens, which were against conscience. He put in the Marquis's hands a double of the late proclamation from England, deciding the famous controversy of the Episcopal jurisdiction in their own names alone, and not in the King's. When this came to the King, it was thought he was moved with it, as not having marked before its encroaching upon his prerogative, and chode with Canterbury for it before the Marquis; a quarrel which evidently made the Archbishop look down on Lorn, who publickly avowed in the writ contempt of his malice. These counsels of force being laid by for the time, with the increase of detest of the authors our bishops, little less in England than at home; a conclusion passes of an amicable treaty for the country's contentment. Long it was ere a person could be found of parts requisite for such a service. Morton, Roxburgh, let be Haddington or Stirling, were not of sufficient shoulders. The Treasurer was once like to have been employed; but the bishops, to preveen the employment of their mortal enemy, did afresh, when no such matter was expected, give in some sheets of vehement accusations against him, of all things they could conceive, penned by Brechin, but subscribed by St Andrew's and Ross also. They required not Galloway's hand to this challenge, knowing his interest in the accused. The points for the most part were thought to be but light. The King would not take time to discuss them; so they were cast by as continued, or laid up as a band above the accused's head, to be applied in time to his sides. However, the bishops point was won. The Treasurer missed the commission. He made no formal recrimination to his party; albeit it is said he spake either to the King or prime courtiers of horrible crimes which he could make good, especially of St Andrew's; and indeed their carriage, at this same time, even in England, has not been ecclesiastic. Much is spoken of their wine and feasting, of their absence from all divine service on the Sunday. When the Treasurer was departed, the eyes of
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all was on the Marquis for the commission. The sharpness of the man ; his late obligation to the King for his very being, by the gift of our taxation ; his father's throughing of Perth articles, which now was become a main part of our questions ; the want of any other made him the only man ; for the Duke is thought to have no such stuff as a commissioner for such business required ; beside that divers does now speak of his inclination to Popery. The Marquis, to the uttermost of his power, declined his charge, as a service wherein his fear was greater to lose all utterly, at least implacably to offend them whom least he would ; either his bountiful and gracious master, or his mother-country, wherein, after the King, his hopes was justly greatest, than any expectation to bring this intricate business to the wished end. Yet there was no remeid ; yield he must to his master's peremptor command, who laid upon his back the commission, with a strange *Memento*, that he was informed (as indeed our clergy, President, and Register, lets him be ignorant of no whisper which they know among us) of his contrymens purpose to set the crown of Scotland upon his head ; yet such was his trust in his loyalty, that he would employ no other to represent his person, at this so dangerous a time, wherein, if I be the fool, thou must be the knave. The commissioner would not stir from the King, till he saw all our countrymen, which the court any way might spare, sent home before him, to do for the King's service all the good offices they were able, at least to do him no evil offices with his prince, with their misinformations in his absence. The Treasurer, Lorn, and Galloway, were the first that came home together in coach, as good friends. This made the people begin to speak better of Galloway : but it seems his fear of the people's fury still remains ; for he comes not in publick, save in the Treasurer's company. He lives in his family private enough, and keeps his old wife plainness, for he rounds not that he avowed to the King his necessity to leave Scotland for fear of his life, for want of the word, which he could not hear delivered any where without sentences of rebellion, and sacraments, which he could not participate there without profanation. So soon as this came down, the council was called at Dalkeith, a commission was formed for the Marquis by the Advocate, letters were directed throughout all the kingdom to all the counsellors, none of the bishops excepted,
straitly

straitly charging all to be present the next council-day in Dalkeith the 6th of June.

Register and the President followed the Treasurer. We hear nought of their din at this time about court: it seems both their credit is much impaired there. The President brought with him a new protection of a new strain, to hinder any execution of law against himself or his cautioner, their persons, lands, goods. His debts are found far above his goods. It is thought his father the Chancellor has brought with him the like targe. It is said that himself and his children will be in sixteen or seventeen score of thousand merks in burden. The world wonders by what means. His estate of bishoprick, priory, and chancery, will be better than 40,000 pound a-year. His train and house has been ever naughty exceedingly. It is said the dean has the like shield. The parson of Leith has one, I know, and the parson of Liberton another, for divers thousand pounds of more debt than they have ever appearance to pay, if they find not a purse; for now bishopricks and abbacies are desperate. It is very scandalous that clergymen should be avowed dyvours, and troublers of the country beside. He in Leith is a malicious railer against the covenanters, in the pulpit and every where. He of Liberton does us a very shrewd turn; posted lately to court, informed the King, after he had closed our business, and dismissed our statesmen, of continual outrages of our people against ministers for their love to his service. Amongst the rest, the town of Edinburgh set on D. Ogston for his life in the church; the people of Torphichen upon Mr G. Hanna: this added oil to the King's flame. The truth is, that Ogston minister of Collington made his people, who would obey him, answer his examination before the communion on their knees, as the priests do in their shrieivings. This and other things (for he was brought from the north to that place by Bishop Forbes) made him infamous. So in his addition to the exercise in Edinburgh, speaking somewhat (I suppose) of the Virgin Mary, he was conceived of the people (but wrongously) to speak error; whereupon, after sermon, at the outcoming of the church, a number of women waits on him, and shored him with strokes; but Mr A. Ramsay and Mr H. Pollock got him safe to the session-house, and thereafter conveyed him safe to his horse. Mr Hanna has ever been in hot water with his people

people since his entry ; so the Monday after his people had subscribed against his command, they set on him in the church, tore his gown, and gave him dry cuffs, and so without farther harm dismissed him. This is much regretted by us all, and the ministers in Edinburgh inveigh much against thir sinful uproars, and since there has been no more of them.

There waited on our bishops at court, one D. Carse, whom I know not, and Mr Livingston, who are both bitter against us ; also Mr Laudian, the Marquis's chaplain, who has written somewhat against our courses, at least, for kneeling, against Rutherford. They say he is dead also. I much regret it : he was an excellent philosopher, sound and orthodox, opposite to Canterbury's way, albeit not conform. I oft counselled Glasgow to have him for their divinity-lecturer.

The multitude of our Scots Lords which were sent down, Morton, Linlithgow, Kelly, Mar, Kinnoul, Haddington, Belhaven, Amont, and many more, made us think, that the King minded to call shortly a parliament, wherein he might make use of their voices, or else we saw not to what purpose their presence here could serve. It was given out, that our bishops were very loth to come from court, but they were forced to go ; that after their dismissal they sought leave to go to the Bath, to pass time so till they saw the Commissioner's success : yet it was not so ; for at once St Andrew's came. Ross and Brechin came to Berwick ; but to come any farther, for all their boldness, they durst not yet venture. It is said they are there very merry, as our people also. St Andrew's, Edinburgh, Dumblane, makes countenance oft to be in the Dean's house. On Sunday, the 3d of June, his Grace was in Berwick. That day was a solemn fast over all our kingdom, where timeous advertisement should be given. Some of our nonsubscribers refused to join. In Edinburgh, Mr Alexander, D. Elliot, Mr Mitchell, &c. being required to join, took them to be advised with the Bishop. At the first he was content ; but thereafter having written over to Dalkeith to Galloway, who newly was come home, repented, and on the Sunday morning sent a discharge to the ministers to intimate ; which they obeyed : but Mr H. and Mr A. did intimate it in their churches, and I also in the College-hall, where that day I preached. For this long while bygone, some of the nobility,

bility, shires, and burrows, waits on in Edinburgh, every man his fourteen days. Some of the ministers also keeps their turn, and preaches to their commissioners in the College-hall. On Monday, the ministers of Edinburgh would have been at the intimating of the fast in their week-sermons, notwithstanding of the Bishop's discharge; but the commissioners, mainly on Mr Andrew's motion, (for I was witness to it, and reasoned much against it), did send some of the town-council to Mr Alexander to discharge him, and the rest to join in the fast, except they would join in the main causes, to pray for a blessing to the covenant. So, on the Wednesday, Mr Alexander, with many tears, in the midst of his sermon, shewed his willingness to join in the fast, if he had not been discharged. His tears purchased him little pity. It is marvellous how much more that our good friend is hated of his people more than Mitchell himself, or any other there. I was sorry for D. Elliot's grief. I had yielded to Mr Henry to preach in his church on the fasting Sunday with the Doctor's good liking. They had agreed to put me in the forenoon, Mr Henry in the morning, and the Doctor in the afternoon; for in the fasting churches they had three sermons. Yet before Sunday the Doctor is discharged to preach in that church at all, unless he would subscribe, lest he should mar the devotion of his hearers by his ill example. There was no remeid. Mr S. Rutherford was put in his place. The congregation was exceeding great. Many of our nobles were there; and indeed that people's humiliation was greater than I hoped for, God be thanked. Mr H. is a man much more mortified than I thought ever to have seen him, and preaches very pathetically. Mr Rutherford has an excellent gift both of preaching and prayer, and, which helps all to the people's mind, fells all the fourteen bishops, and houghs the ceremonies; yet in this he goes little beyond Mr Henry. As for bishops and ceremonies, I meddled not with them; but of the service-book I spoke more than my hearers had been acquainted with from any other. By this I pleased them.

On the Monday great reasoning there was for meeting of the Commissioner. He had written almost to the whole nobility, and gentry of note, to meet him on the Tuesday about Haddington. Many would gladly have done him that honour; but for several reasons it was decreed, that none of the subscribers, no not of his nearest friends and
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vassals,

vassals, should go; only Lords Loudon and Lindsay, and some three barons, should go out, and carry the excuse in name of all. With this dealing his Grace seemed nothing well pleased, and was like to have returned post to court in malecontentment; but Rothés having communed some two or three hours with him in Dalkeith, appeased, and removed his mistakings.

Some days before an accident fell forth which well near had occasioned great misintelligence among all. It had been resolved at court, upon the bishops complaint that the King's houses were unfurnished, when the noblemen had provided so large munition for theirs, that the Treasurer should furnish the castle of Edinburgh with powder and lead, and other necessaries, whereof it stood in great need. The Treasurer gives this charge to Patrick Wood; who lays in, either out of the tower of London, or by his monies, privately into a ship of Leith, sixty and odds great barrels of powder, some hundred pikes, some chests full of musquets and matches. When thir came to the road, the Treasurer being advertised, came to the town. After supper, according to his directions, his man and Patrick Wood, that night, causes, in haste, and all the privacy they could use, carry all that munition to Dalkeith. To-morrow the whole town and country is full of no other discourse. Patrick Wood is much detested by all for his readiness in such employment. He is called to the commissioners table oftener than once, and strictly examined. His answers at first are somewhat proud; but at once his courage cooled, when his bands began to be posted to the registers many in one day, much he did quickly pay. He subscribed the covenant without delay. Many good friends did for him what they could; yet all had enough ado to help him from the hands of the people, and hold off, for a time, his numerous creditors. On the Treasurer lighted more indignation, that he should have secretly caused convey, in the night, to the place of meeting, such provision, for what end else but to blow us all up? He came in, and to Rothés, Lorn, and Loudon, purged himself of such wickedness; confessed the necessity laid upon him to provide for the castle of Edinburgh, but being forewarned by some noblemen and gentlemen, subscribers, of their resolution to seize on that provision if it was carried towards the castle, he thought it meet to carry it to Dalkeith, the nearest of the King's houses,

than to tempt them to fall in a riot, which might make matters desperate of reconciliation. However, it was thought the Marquis took not this service well of the Treasurer; for albeit to Lindsay, who was sent to Berwick, to try, among other things, what was his part in this munition; he confessed he knew of the loading of it; and oft since, in his discourse, he has striven to facilitate his treaty, by threatening us with the readiness of the King's navy to set upon us, with 10,000 land-soldiers well trained. Three days after, we forced him to give over communing; and it is known, that in his way through Northumberland, he gave direction to the sheriffs to have their trained bands in readiness; which, for that end, twice a-week have been mustered. Also he spake of the readiness of a Spanish truce in West Flanders, to be employed where the King would direct. For all this, the conveying of the munition privately to the place appointed for his amicable treaty, it is said he took it from the Treasurer for a disfavour, as done of purpose to hinder the success of his commission in his hands. Many think, that the Treasurer and Roxburgh are not contented, that in this employment they were neglected; and therefore are not very careful to further this service. Yet for all that is said in this, I believe the Treasurer is honest; and whatever he might be moved to do for the King's pleasure against us, yet will I not think, that he would be so mad as in any thing to disoblige the Marquis, to whom this twelvemonth he has stuck so close, and whom, if he should irritate at this time, when so many are in his tops, his ruin seemed to be inevitable. Always this action of the Treasurer, as many other since the beginning of this weighty affair, done by him, whether of purpose for that end or not, has much furthered our cause, has made all the country flock in a trice to the town, put all in a greater eagerness than ever: the inequity to meet with the Marquis at Dalkeith so provided, laid a necessity on the Marquis to come and treat in the town, or else in the fields; for this provision was a just reason of our distrust; and which was most, not only a watch of some hundred armed citizens was put nightly in the town, for it was expected, that Huntly, Harris, Abercorn, and Winton, were to be in, with all the power they could make; but also the gentry began, in arms both night and day, avowedly to watch the castle, that none of that provision might be carried

ried from Dalkeith thereto, as the Treasurer said it would, and much more, which was coming in more ships.

This castle-watch was much spoken of, as the first of our illegal actions. But it was replied, That since an innocent defence by arms to the body of a state, in the evident danger of their religion, liberties, and laws, was granted to be lawful by the law of God, nature, nations, and chiefly by the laws and frequent practices of our nation, approved by divers standing acts of parliament; this being granted, as few among us now make question, some indeed do, whereof I am as yet one, it cannot be denied but all things simply necessary for that innocent defence are alike legal; of the which, the keeping of that castle in the present case, and preveening the putting of it in such a state, wherein it may easily, in twelve hours, destroy that good town, the head of our nation, the only convenient place of our meeting, the main finew of our union and defence; our providence about this place, upon this ground, is thought justifiable by all equitable men. If our design had been to have made any invasion, nothing more easy, than by three days hunger, or six hours assault, to have taken that castle, and all the other also the King has among us; but our folks are far from such acts of hostility, if they be not forced to them. The Commissioner would not grant to come to the Abbey, unless he were solemnly met, and that watch were removed. Of the first we made no question; to the other, after much debate, we agreed, on condition, that Haddington, Southesk, and Lorn, the intercommuners, should engage their honour, so far as was possible, that in the mean time there should no munition at all, neither any victuals more than for daily use, be put in that house. This was yielded to by them: so the watch was discharged. But the Commissioner would not stand to that communing, and took it for a distrust of his honesty, when any more was craved than his bare word: so the same night the watch was set again, and that in a double number. Yet when, at the town of Edinburgh's renewed suit, the Commissioner was contented to come in, notwithstanding of that watch, Lorn took it upon him to discharge it simply without any condition, and in this was obeyed, for the Commissioner's contentment: only a privy watch was ordained, and yet is kept; yea, all wish there had been no other from the beginning, for it is thought sufficient for that end.

The council at Dalkeith met frequently. Huntly was there; but with a small train. He spoke nought, as we hear, against our cause, and carried himself like a Protestant. We sent Mr A. Ramsey, Mr J. Bonner, Mr Tho. Abernethy, and a fourth, ahort the counsellors, to solicit them for their favour. All gave good answers; and Huntly shewed, that he had found our cause since he came south, more equitable than in the north he was informed of it. For the books, he should be glad to be instructed by any they would send to him, what evil could be found in them. The man is of a good discourse; but neither trusted by King nor country. His power also is contemptible in this cause. Many of his name have subscribed. Himself, and many of them, are overburdened with debt. Forbeses, Frasers, Grants, Mackenzies, Mackays, Macintoshes, Macdonalds, Irvines, Inneses, let be all the Campbells to a man, are zealous subscribers; and a fifth part of them were able to make a disjune of all the Gordons when at their best; albeit now the most of the Gordons depend on Sutherland, as all in the south on Kenmure.

That day in council St Andrew's sat with the seals, as some said, with the Marquis's commission hung about his neck in a pock, as the fashion is for the Keeper of England in the King's presence. Our noblemen subscribers will not so much as speak to him, and scarce look on him; and that according to a conclusion passed at their table, that in the dependence of this cause against the bishops, our only party, no subscriber should any ways countenance any of them. This, I fear, be but a preface to their excommunication, or indictment upon their head of high treason. Divers think the King will not be much against this, if so, that in the ruin of thir mens persons, he could find a mean to preserve his own honour, and their Episcopal estate. Nothing at all was done in the council. The Commissioner was not pleased to this day to acquaint any there with his mind, only his folks let out, that he was confident to leave the country in peace, and give them, ere he went, full satisfaction; but it seems, that the many missives posted daily to him from court since that time, has restrained his liberty to do what then he intended.

In his entry, I think, at Leith, as much honour was done unto him as ever to a King in our country. Huge
multitudes,

multitudes, as ever was gathered on that field, set themselves in his way: Nobles, gentry of all shires, women a world, the town of Edinburgh all at the Water-gate; but we were most conspicuous in our black cloaks, above five hundred on a brae-side in the links alone for his sight. We had appointed Mr William Livingston, the strongest in voice, and austere in countenance of us all, to make him a short welcome; but a good friend of yours and mine was rashly officious to inform D. Balcanqual, (who is come down to wait on his Grace as almost a chaplain, upon hopes, if all go well, quickly to attain an archbishoprick, he is for nought lower), that in the harangue were invectives against the bishops; which was nothing so, for ye may read the speech. Upon this information, the Commissioner excused himself to our nobles, and in passing to Mr William himself, said, that harangues in the field were for princes, and above his place; yet what he had to say he should hear it gladly in private. So our spokesman, with other two or three of our number, went and delivered to the Commissioner in his chamber what we had appointed, without any further; for we discharged him to enter in any other purpose, all being resolute to give answers to what should be proponed in a public way, after advisement with all the brethren. Our friend, for his rashness to inform, I did much chide. The Marquis, in the way, was much moved to pity, even to tears. He professed thereafter his desire to have had K. Charles present at that sight of the whole country, so earnestly and humbly crying for the safety of their liberties and religion. His Grace's countenance and carriage was so courteous, and his private speeches so fair, that we were in good hopes for some days to obtain all our desires: yet at last, when we heard, that all the power he had was, to cause read at the cross a proclamation of the King's pleasure, without any farther commission, our hopes became well near desperate. What was in the proclamation we could not learn; only there was much speaking of a command to surrender, and give in our subscribed covenants, upon promise to ratify, by parliament, all or the most part of the matters contained therein. This was a motion infinitely displeasing to all; and to put the Commissioner from all hopes of obtaining any such proposition, reasons were given out, I think, by Mr Alexander Henderson, why, upon no terms, it was possible for us
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to pass from any point, less or more, which we had sworn and subscribed. This resolution was firmly kept by all. Mr H. Cochran, a sharp and busy man, was like to have incurred great disgrace, and public censure, at the gentry's table, for holding privy conference with the Treasurer, and letting some overture fall that favoured of altering, upon good conditions, some clauses of the covenant. This our strictness stopped the proposing of a surrender, or altering of any thing in the writ; only the Commissioner shewed, that he was minded to proclaim the King's pleasure. Our commissioners, some two or three of the nobles, barons, burghs, and ministers, shewed their resolution to protest if it was not satisfactory. This the Commissioner, and all he could make, laboured to dissuade with might and main, with many promises, and great threats: but in vain; for we were peremptor; being informed, without a protestation, and that presently upon the back of the proclamation, our posterior meetings would be illegal, and subject to censure. All the reasons we used could not put the Commissioner from it. He shewed in this he would see the King obeyed; he would come up to the cross, and back the lyon herald; and if they protested, he would denounce them all rebels. The Treasurer comes up the way on the Thursday before noon, calls for the lyon heralds, makes sweep the cross for the hangings. All our people convene. Some thousand gentlemen, with their swords loose in their hands, about the cross; a scaffold is made for Cassils, Durie younger, Mr William Livingston, and John Smith, to protest for the four estates. When this dangerous resolution was perceived, the lyon heralds were advertised to provide horses, which made us conceive they intended to read the proclamation in other burghs. This made many make their horses ready to have convoyed the heralds where-ever they went, and course was taken to have protesters provided in every burgh where the proclamation was likely to be sent. This our firm constancy made the Commissioner pass from motioning any more his proclamation. It seemed to many, that his instructions were of so many parts, that he had warrant to press every part to the utmost, and even to pass from it to the next, if no better might be. This seemed to some of us, the beholders, but little policy. We thought it had been more expedient for our division, their main end, as was thought by some, to have
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at the very first granted frankly all they could be brought to, than to offer some few things, which could content none, and to enter upon second offers after the resolute rejection of the first. This bound us all the faster, made us the more bold in pressing all our desires, upon hopes, that an ambulatory and passing commission was not yet passed on the half of its way, let be to be near the last end. On Friday we presented his Grace with a common supplication. To make way for a ready answer thereto, there were some of the propositions spread abroad of purpose, that they might come to the courtiers hands, containing articles to be advised, upon supposition, that delays, craft, or force, should be used against us. This half-boast made the Commissioner receive our supplication in the better part. On the Saturday he promised, after his return from Kinneil on the Tuesday, an answer to it. On that Sunday he heard Mr Alexander Henderson preach, and thereafter conferred with him at length in private. Of this we do all much marvel, and cannot see a reason why he should have given such an occasion to the bishops censure, whom he knew to be ready enough, upon every shadow, to calumniate him to the King, as an incliner to the Puritans. He was indeed offended with some of our preachers: Mr Andrew Cant, a superexcellent preacher as all report, Mr Samuel Rutherford, Mr William Livingston, Mr Robert Douglass, Mr A. Blackhall, and divers others, had pressed the extirpation of Episcopacy. Every day of that week there was a sermon in four or five divers rooms, except the Saturday. What was said by any, all incontinent was dilated to his Grace; in no better terms, be assured, than was delivered. Mr Henderson had been sparing, and Mr D. Dick much more; so that he was censured of too much prudence, and behoved to help it by his scourging of the bishops in posterior sermons, upon request of some counsellors who loved our cause. The bishops, by some, in sermons, were dealt with more soberly than before, but nothing at all was remitted by others.

On Tuesday our commissioners went to his Grace for an answer to their supplication according to promise. The answer was, That their demands of an assembly and parliament should be granted; but first some scruples about the writ behoved to be satisfied. Thir were to be proposed by the three former intercommuners; with these were appointed

appointed to treat for us other three, Rothes, Montrose, Loudon. They agreed their conference should be by writ. The scruple proponed was this, His Majesty may conceive, that the confession is so general in the clause of mutual defence, that it may not only contain a defence for religion and his Majesty's person and authority, liberties and laws of this kingdom, but also a combination for defending of delinquents against authority and law, even in other causes than the foresaid. Our comuners took it to their advisement with their company, if therefore it were necessary to draw up an humble remonstrance, to explain our dutiful intention concerning the clause above written. The tables of the nobility and gentry found, after long disputes, that such remonstrances were dangerous; likely nought but delays and snares were sought; for yet it was granted in a renewed supplication, that that clause should be sufficiently cleared, if so that they were not needlessly incumbered with more interrogatories. The supplication is drawn up by the nobles, but disliked by the gentry and ministry; for what cause I know not, for yet I have not seen that piece. The Commissioner also would have them agree to a declaration of this clause of his forming; but this all did refuse: yet at last all agreed upon a supplication. Against this the Commissioner did not say much; only shewed, that what he had in his instructions concerning an assembly and parliament would not content them; neither would all yet that they had said content the King: for all that he would not leave the matter desperate; he would post to his Majesty, and see if by himself he might give better informations than he could by his missive letters; he trusted shortly to return with satisfactory instructions. This necessary overture we could not refuse; but we intreated his Grace for the earnest agenting with the King six articles. The day of his return he has named for the longest the 5th of August.

What we speak of the service-book was occasioned by the bishops continued madness. However, all think that the King's proclamation shall free us for ever of that unhappy book altogether. Yet they are so neglectful of their gracious master's honour, that by their words and deeds they make the world suspect that the King has no intention to keep his word: Unhappy servants to so good a master! Galloway's man assured Mr Ja. Blair, that the book might well be corrected in our assembly,

sembly, but it behoved to go through. The Bishop of Edinburgh avowed to Mr James Lang, that in the book there was no evil; that it was much better than that of England; that for all our present uproars that book would go through, whoever would say the contrary. The Bishop of Dumblane came to the Commissioner, showing that he was to read service in the chapel, and required his Grace's countenance to it. The Commissioner bade him "do so," but to be present at it it was no part of his commission. Thereafter, when Dumblane was assured of the evident danger he might incur by such an attempt, he returned, and shewed the Commissioner, he behoved, for fear of his life, to let alone his reading. His Grace said nought but as before, "Do so." For all this, they go out, St Andrew's to Roslin, and in that chapel read the service: this report is now questioned. In this I marvel of their wisdom. St Andrew's still grows in his rage. He is going back in haste to court to work us what wo he can. It is like he shall never return. Our people think, by clear law, if they get any reason, to have him excommunicated, and readily thereafter to execute. It seems he is so desperate, that he would be content to fall in the people's hands, for the desire of martyrdom. Would to God he and his brethren could prefer the safety of the King and kingdom to their own honour, and satisfaction of their wicked passions.

What we speak of the interruption of our trade, is occasioned by that arrestment of the States of our merchants arms, at the instance of the King's agent, and your Conservator also, as we hear, upon a most false narrative, that the King has declared us all traitors, and we are in the acts of open rebellion. However we were most unable to revenge such injuries, many whereof it is thought we have gotten of late of your good Conservator; yet he should fear, if not God, the avenger of liars, and hurters of their country, yet the King, to whom he does dangerous wrong through our sides. Whoever stirs the flame betwixt the King and his subjects, at this time, seems to be most mortal enemies that the King ever had to his person, crown, or posterity; and that arrestment will not be a small coal to that fire. Ye have oft shewed me of that man's faculty of lying and wicked humours many ways. If ye, after the knowledge of it, take you to his side, your misery, when he procures it, will not be so much re-

garded. Besides other things I wrote to you before, whereof I have received no answer, I heard of your letters, I think within this twelvemonth, to St Andrew's, concerning the speeches and prayers of your churches there for us, as their persecuted brethren. What are ye doing? Your letters were sent to the King by the hand of the President. Though I heard this *obiter*, yet few, I think, among us do know it, and God forbid they should. I pray you come over, if ye desire to keep your old estimation; but come over resolute to subscribe, as now all among us incline to do. At our townsmens desire, Mr Andrew Cant, and Mr S. Rutherford, were sent by the nobles to preach in the High kirk, and receive the oaths of that people to the covenant. Lord Eglinton was appointed to be a witness there. With many a sigh and tear by all that people the oath was made. Provost, bailies, council, and all, except three men, Patrick, James, and Mr Archibald, held up their hands. Mr Zacharias, Mr John Bell younger, has put to their hands. The college, it is thought, will subscribe. Mr William Wilkie, I know, will. The Forsyths have subscribed, and almost all who refused before. Some they will not have their hands, but mind to process them. Mr Creichton, my cousin, is ordained to be summoned for his corrupt doctrine and practices, before their presbytery, and two associates out of the four next adjacent presbyteries. I think I could move him to make a public recantation for bygones, and give all possible assurances for time to come; but it fears me all this keep him not in his place. Mr James Forsyth has been so idle in his written protestations read out of his pulpit against our covenant, the Antichristianism, Jesuitism of it, and what not? also in some passages against our noblemen in his sermons, and some other miscarriages, that it fears me his censure shall be deep; so much the more as he is not likely to carry himself with any caniness in time coming. Mr Annan, presently after his subscription, went to Edinburgh, where he has remained since above a quarter of a year. He is in great confusion and perplexity. With his own consent, Mr Robert Blair was admitted his second. All his company is with the dean and bishops. The brethren sent out to him commissioners oft to join with them in their meeting, but still he would not. The town of Air dealt with him; but in vain: so they at last gave in a complaint of his miscarriages, with a resolution never more to

to receive him within their pulpit. I think there is not ten ministers in the kingdom so much obliged to their people's gratitude, as he alone was, and still would have been, if he might have been pleased to have done any tolerable duty. The presbytery is ordained with the assension of some neighbours, to cite him, and go on with him in a process for faults to be libelled. It is like he has no mind to return. The Bishop of Down has written over to him, and Mr D. Mitchell, that they would come and live with him. Likely Mr Mitchell will shortly be processed for his doctrine.

There is a great work of reformation intended among us, and evidently begun. There is much amendment of common faults; we hope it will spread to our neighbours in England and Ireland. The oppressions there of the bishops, on mens souls, bodies, and goods, is so pitiful, that it is marvelled if God come not down to plead the cause of the poor innocents. The late uproars of the inns of court, we hear, shall be but the proëme to the insequent tragedy, if Canterbury will be pleased to remit nought of his accustomed stiffness. It is like, that our victualling of Dunkirk, draw France and Holland on our prince, and the Spaniard on us; all this, it fears me, mar still the Palatine's designs. Alas! for the pitiful slaughter of our countrymen in Antwerp. This must be your prince's great want of prudence, who advanced such a handful so far in the enemy's bounds, without either spies before them, or a back army or fort for retreat. An unhappiness in a general is to be pitied; but such a neglect of conduct is intolerable, and cursed. Always unhappy we, who in such enterprises are commonly sure of the strokes. Ye have here also some reasons in print against the service. Our press at Edinburgh is now patent: we hope not to trouble you so much there as we were wont. I took the author to be Mr Henderson; but I am informed since, that they came from Mr George Gillespie, a youth who waited on my Lord Kennedy, and is now admitted to the kirk of Weems, maugre St Andrew's' beard, by the presbytery. This same youth is now given out also, by those who should know, for the author of the English Popish ceremonies: whereof we all do marvel; for though he had gotten the papers, and help of the chief of that side; yet the very composition would seem to be far above such an age: but if that book be truly of his making,

king, I admire the man, though I mislike much of his matter; yea, I think, he may prove among the best wits of this isle.

When we are expecting the Marquis's away-going, behold new stories, whereof we did not dream. His Grace, on Saturday, came up to the cross, makes for a proclamation. Divers of the nobles, many of the gentry, were away home, being secure of all till the Commissioner's return from court. Yet numbers flocked to the cross, put themselves in readiness to protest, but they superseded; finding the proclamation, beside the expectation of all men, to be nought but a restitution of the council and session to Edinburgh during the King's pleasure. This great benefit not being looked for, not being sought nor thought upon by any at that time, was received with but small acknowledgement; so much the more that the main narrative ran upon the inconveniences which the Lords did suffer by their sitting in all other places, as if this favour had been intended only for their accommodation.

To morrow, on Sunday, his Grace went to Seton; where, in Tranent, he heard Mr R. Balcanqual; with whom we were nought pleased; for however he has subscribed, yet in that sermon, as in all the rest of his carriage these divers years, he was more cold and wise, than zealous and stout to speak one word for the good cause. We thought the Commissioner had been thus far on his way; yet to-morrow, as if he had received new instructions from the post, he returns; and on Wednesday, betwixt twelve and one, causes proclaim. This proclamation was heard by a world of people, with great indignation. We all marvel that ever the Commissioner could think to give satisfaction to any living soul, by such a declaration; which yet oft he professed with much confidence of that piece before it was heard. There must be here some mystery, which yet is not open. This declaration cannot be that which his Grace brought with him, that was thought certainly to contain a command of surrendering our confession: but of our confession not one syllable; yea, this has been, by appearance, drawn up here very lately by the bishops and statesmen, who are trusted with the consent, as it seems, of the Commissioner; for the date of it is but six or seven days, at Greenwich, before it was proclaimed in Edinburgh. There was on a scaffold opposite the cross, *simul et semul*, read by Mr Archibald Johnston,

Johnston, a protestation, avowed by Caffils, young Durie, provost of Dundee, and Mr John Ker of Prestonpans, in name of the nobles, barons, burgessees, and ministers. Some out of shots [small round or oval windows] cried rebels, on the readers. The people, in a fury, would have been up to search: it was feared that Mr R. Rankin, or Mr J. Brown, or the dean, might have been rent in pieces; for they were there in the dean's chamber; but the diligence of the noblemen hindered the search, so that there was no hurt done to any. The nobles, at dinner, are informed that the Commissioner was about to get the council to approve the declaration as satisfactory; whereupon they presently set a writing these reasons ye have here; and after dinner went to his Grace, Rothes, Montrose, and Loudon, with doubles of these reasons for staying the counsellors from making any approbatory act. There past between them some high words: Loudon told his Grace roundly, they knew no other bands between a King and his subjects but of religion and laws; if these were broken, mens lives were not dear to them; boasted they would not be, such fears were past with them. Notwithstanding the Commissioner prevailed so far with the counsellors, that they all, except Lorn and Southesk, did, in their chamber, not publickly at the council-table, set their hand to this act. When it was heard, there was conceived so high offence by us all, that these men whom we were assured were ready to subscribe with us the covenant, that our grief was unutterable. Yet all came about for the good of our cause. The unreasonableness of their grievous injury being remonstrated to them, they fell presently to repent; and for our satisfaction, did not rest till they had got back that subscribed act, and rent it in small pieces. We hope that our sweet prince, and all neighbour nations, will judge the declaration not so much approven by our council, in their private, and too much hastened subscriptions, if not stolen from them by vehement solicitation, as disavows, yea detested as unreasonable by their open, avowed, and deliberate renting in pieces of their approbation thereto. For mitigating a little our minds, their was offered to us a more favourable proclamation; but it was holden in, because we were ready to protest against it as not satisfactory. This manner of dealing has made us speak out that which was before but in the minds of some very few, our
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right from God, which the prince may not in law or reason take from us, to keep a general assembly. The reasons ye have in print, by the advice of three or four of the best wits. This is the highest string as yet that our necessities has drawn us to strike on. At my first hearing of it, I was much amazed. I was all utterly averse from thinking of any such proposition; but, after some study, I find my mood allayed. I intreat you try the mind of Rivet and Voetius, if when the prince or state are unwilling, the kirk may keep a general assembly in times of necessity, though authority should discharge; also direct me to all the writs ye are able for my help of information. I am afraid that this boast of our right, only in policy, as yet they say, be indeed put in practice. The events I groan to imagine.

Lorn shewed the Commissioner, he was informed from court, of Antrim's undertaking to come over upon his lands. He knew not any of his own merits to procure such acts of hostility, but if such oppression were offered, he would see to his defence. We hear of some six or nine of the King's ships coming to our north seas: some say they are going only for the protection of your buffes, for the tenth barrel of their fishing, lately granted by your states to the King. They speak also of Arundel's coming down to Berwick. All thir things puts us in a flight. The Commissioner went away on the Monday early, after he had given some good words to our nobles. In the mean time we have, on the 22d and 24th of July, an universal fast. It is like, at the council-table in England, our affairs may get some fatal stroke one of these days. Mr D. Dick and Mr Alexander Henderson are convoyed by Lord Montrose, and others, north, to draw in, if they can, those who yet lie out in the sherrifdom and town of Aberdeen. If God bless that labour, all our country, now to count of, are as one man in this business, which goes on like Elijah's cloud, from an hand-breadth to fill the whole skies. When we look to our own deservings, and the dealing of God round about, and the pregnant appearances in human affairs, we are afraid our whole isle be terribly shaken, if not made desolate, before this storm calm. Our trust is in God. There appears not yet from man any likelihood of peace, or any possibility of it, as matters go on both sides. The bishops may at once be excommunicated, and all their wilful followers:
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if for them our nobles blood be shed, the isle will hardly keep any of them.

Dumblane is to court. Brechin and Ross, if they be yet in Berwick, we know not. St Andrew's is yet among us. The nobles gave in to the Commissioner, ere he went away, an accusation of bribery and other crimes against the President and Register. He desired them to supersede their pursuit till his return: so these two sit yet still in the session. If they get reason, it's thought they are both undone; and none among us will pity their ruin. The Commissioner has so carried himself from his coming to his going, that he has made us all suspend our judgement of his inclination, whether it be towards us or our opposites: yet the warieft and most obscure breasts will be opened by time.—We are grieved for the stoning of D. Monro, when he came from Edinburgh, where he had much company with the bishops, and was thought to be a spy to them of the actions and proceedings of the noblemen. The women at Kinghorn, at divers parts of the town, in great multitudes, were set for him. Some gentlemen in company defended to their power, and got him on a horse, whereby he escaped death, but not wounds and blood. These unhappy and ungodly violences hurt our good cause: they are lamented by us; but there will be no remeid for them, except the law be patent for our grievances. Just and very heavy grievances must either vent the way which God, law, and reason has appointed for their ease; or by violence they will make a way for themselves, which nature, reason, let be God, does not approve. Write ye to me so rarely, so shortly, as ye please; ye see I strive to move you to change that course. The Lord be with you, and your spouse, and all ye love there. If we know not of a rest in heaven, where there is no fray, our life on earth would whiles be comfortless. Receive an information from England, which has put us all newly aghast if it be true. Strange! that Canterbury should be so furiously unjust. I hope God has raised him to make our isle once quit of bishops, for all St Andrew's is to court. This day twelvemonth the serving-maids in Edinburgh began to draw down the bishops pride, when it was at the highest, being July 22.

1637.

News from England, July 15. 1638.

Four commissioners, Lord Arundel, Lord Newport, Sir Henry Vane, Secretary Cook, are deputed to prepare by sea and land. Pennington is to be sent over to the north with the ships. Many flat-bottomed boats are to be made. An hundred smiths are convened for iron-work, and carpenters to make carriages for eighty field-pieces; 25,000 swords to be prepared; many pikes and muskets to be put in cases, and sent to the north. Saddlers are appointed to make numbers of great saddles. Lord Antrim has hired a great Scots ship, loadened and furnished with powder and munition for Ireland. Weems the cannon-maker has conditioned to hire a ship, and to loaden her with light cannon and powder for Dumbarton. Arundel is to come to fortify Berwick, Carlisle, and some other places. Sir Harrie Bruce has offered his service to the King long ago. He asked Sir John Coton, if he would serve the King? he answered, he would, but not against his country, where he had his life. But Kirkcudbright and Lochryan are aimed at, besides some other places on the west sea, for landing of flat-bottomed boats from Ireland; also there are flat-bottomed boats prepared for landing in Fife or Lothian side, or both. Letters are directed to every shire, to have the trained bands in readiness the 4th July. The commissioners are to write to the council what number of trained bands, and what preparation for war of all kinds are appointed, and how soon they can be ready. Lord William Howard has written to Arundel, beseeching him to take to heart the business of Scotland; for if they take arms, the north of England will join with them, and therefore it were best to use a peaceable course.

8. To Mr William Spang.

— As for our great affair, have here all what I know into it since my last.

Our brethren who went to Aberdeen were but coldly welcomed in that town. Friday, the first night they came, their doctors sent to them a number of ensnaring demands, hoping by disputes and janglings to make their
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journey

journey fruitless. Their demands, much studied, yea put in print, and scattered about as far as the court of England, were answered by our brethren against to-morrow, and at night given to the doctors. For all this, they refused to lend us any of their pulpits; yea, the void church was made fast, and the keys kept by the magistrate. However, in my Lord Marischal's close, there was three sermons heard by a huge confluence of people. Mr D. Dickson, in the morning at eight o'clock, began; and after sermon answered shortly, and popularly, to all the doctors demands. At twelve Mr Henderson preached, and Mr Cant at four, to no less a multitude than at the first diet. They wisely chose the time when there was no publick service in the churches. After all, at a table in the close, some 4 or 500, at least a good number, whereof sundry were of the best quality, did subscribe. On Monday, they went out to the sherifffdom, where, with much labour, they persuaded many. The Marquis of Huntly, and the clergy of the town, had pre-occupied the hearts of all that people with great prejudices against our cause; yet, by God's help, of the large half of the diocese was obtained to the number of forty-four ministers. On the Saturday, at their return to Aberdeen, the doctors had ready in print replies to our brethrens answers. To thir our brethren gave an answer at once, and so returned home. Since, the doctors have been on a triply, which is not yet come out. However, our brethren had great disadvantage in time, place, and lack of books; yet God and the cause has made, in my judgement, no pregnant infirmity kyth in their answers. We are all content that these men, who are the learnedst, without question, of our opposites, has got the occasion to print and reprint what the best engines are able to say against our proceedings, with answers, which we trust shall in the end prove satisfactory to all, as they have already done to D. Guild, and Mr D. Lindsay moderator of Aberdeen presbytery, and divers others, who at the first were much with-holden from coming to us by these demands. Our bishops were not permitted to come to court. St Andrew's, it is said, was countermanded in his way; so he lay in Morpeth a number of days in the common postmaster's; yet at last all three, Brechin, Ross, and he, went to Newcastle, and there live as they may in a common inn. The Treasurer sent them

some hundred dollars, and the Commissioner, in his way, some more money, for their entertainment. Ross posted to court, got some two hours of the King, and without seeing Canterbury, in haste was sent back. Divers of our clergy have visited them. D. Panther has returned from them, and since lurks. D. Wishart and Mr Learmont of Liberton stayed behind him; the rest of St Andrew's doctors, Howie, Bruce, Martin, Baron, have all subscribed. D. Monro, since his strokes, is among the foremost in our meetings. The archdean, after reading of the covenant in his church, by Mr Gabriel Maxwell, has not preached. That day Mr Armour was well paid; so that town now has no ordinary ministers, but are supplied by the presbytery. I think D. Panther for doctrine, and the archdean for drunkenness, are under process. Mr Creighton appealed from the presbytery. So did Mr John Forsyth. To the one they lay a number of errors, proven by many witnesses; to the other they lay preaching the conveniency of bowing at the name of Jesus, simony, and a number of lesser matters. The one offers, in discreet terms, all contentment for bygones in time to come; but is not trusted: the other is full of will and passion, and, which I much marvel, is inclined to Canterbury, *in omnibus*, as it seems, which is in him a late and great change. Both are suspended, and went to the bishops. Mr Creighton is forward to court, hoping to be preferred in England or Ireland. I think, however matters go, there shall be no more place for him in Scotland. Mr James was filled with great words by the Commissioner, whom he met, and the bishops put him in hope that the King shortly would be upon us with an army. The Commissioner came back before his day, and Dr Balcanqual with him. He kept himself more reserved than before. His mother he would not see. Crouner Alexander he did discountenance. Mr Eleazar Borthwick he met not with. After four or five days parleying, no man could get his mind. The reason of this carriage, they say, was his desire to remove all jealousies, which his enemies, from some passages of his carriage the last voyage, had laboured to put in the King's mind. The King indeed was displeased with his mother; and when his brother Lord William's patent for the earldom of Dunbar came in his hand, he tore it, for despite, as he professed, of her. Crouner Alexander openly did give countenance and allowance

allowance to the nobles meetings. Mr Eleazar was the man by whom his Grace, before his commission, did encourage us to proceed with our supplications: from all this now his Grace's countenance was somewhat withdrawn. While he began to fear delays, behold eleven demands are required of us to be performed before our assembly could be indicted. They were ill taken of us all, as mere shiftings, and propositions invented by our bishops, for the frustrating of all our designs. These were twice read at our tables, and a common answer framed to them. We expected a reply to our answers; which, if it had been given, we might have yielded to sundry of these things: but his Grace said, that he was at a non-plus, and behoved to be again at the King before he could proceed. In our answer to one of the articles, we were near to discord among ourselves. The committee appointed for the first blocking of all our writs, had said, none should meddle with the election of commissioners from presbyteries to the general assembly, but ministers and elders. At the reading of this, our brethren stopped; alleging, that this answer imported the ordinary sitting of laick elders, not only in sessions, but also in presbyteries, their voting there in the election of ministers to bear commission. This they took to be a novation, and of great and dangerous consequence. For myself, it was my good luck to have studied somewhat that question. I was satisfied in my mind, of the lawfulness and expediency of our old practice and standing law, for elders sitting and voting in presbyterial matters, especially in election of commissioners to assemblies; so I was silent: but many made din; and all required the changing the answer to more general words, which might give the power of that election to those who had the custom or law in time bygone for choosing: this did not hinder elders to obtain all their right or desire, only it held off the present determination of a question very important. This our correction of that clause made such a stir at all the tables of nobles, barons, burgessees, that they all resolved to quit us in the cause if they did not presently obtain that point. Some from them all comes to us. After a little reasoning, there was no remeid; we all yielded, though some against their stomach. But of all evils, division to us is the worst now. The clause of our elders therefore behoved to stand as ye see it: yet that question is like to give us trouble; for

fundry of the brethren are very jealous of the gentry's usurpation over them.

This storm being past, we finding that all or the most part of the Marquis's demands tended to the prelimitation of our assembly, and so did encroach on the freedom thereof, there were reasons drawn up to fore-arm us against the proposition of any such prelimitating. For two or three days we were in great perplexity, none knowing well what to do. The Commissioner had no more to say. We are inclined, some to wait on, more without farther patience, presently to give order for our assembly by ourselves. A committee is chosen, of all the tables, to consult privately on this matter. This was the only question wherewith, from the beginning of this matter, my mind was tormented; and if I were through it, I do not foresee any other whereupon I would much stick. My mind was so full of doubts at that time, that if I had been posed, I would have dissented on an assembly without the King's permission. Always the matter, for fear of opposition and division, was never mentioned in publick, and so I said nought; for I had resolved before, in my field-coming, to be silent through all this diet, so far as I was able; to sigh, and pray, and take heed, but no farther.

After the Commissioner found us on thir considerations, he sent to intreat for a delay of conclusions before yet once he might post to court, to represent, but not to deal for the King's acceptation of our answers to his late demands: for to promise to move the King to be content with them, he would not, himself esteeming our answers unreasonable. This his proposition was rejected of all, and all delay refused upon so naked a narrative. Thereafter his Grace came near us, shewing by Lorn and Southesk, that he found out, upon farther information, that our answers were according to our laws, which before he knew not; but now having found it, he was hopeful to represent it to the King, that he might obtain, by another voyage, the indiction of our assembly as free as we could wish. This new motion was so well proponed to us all in a common meeting by Lorn, an excellent spokesman, and so well seconded by Rothes, that many inclined to grant unto the Commissioner the delay he craved. Yet the body of the gentry, the burrows, and the chief of the ministers, was flat against it; who, by discourse, found worlds of dangers, if this meeting should dissolve without taking
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of present order for the assembly, and many more things. My heart was grieved to see the unreasonable stiffness of many, which, for fear of mistake, I durst not mint to reason again in public: yet at last God made reason and equity carry it against the hearts of fundry of the chief ministers, albeit we had all resolved, for fear of division, to have yielded to these of our brethren who were most wilful, if not better might have been; but the authority of Lorn and Rothes, who were here earnest agents, did carry the matter. When I saw the unexpected conclusion, I rejoiced in God, and was, by this experience of his watchful Providence over this great cause, made hopeful he would not suffer it to be spoiled by the imprudency of many uncanny hands which are about it.

So soon as the Marquis had got our promise, of leaving all things as they were till the 20th of September, and taken in hand to agent to his power the obtaining of our four articles, 1. The full freedom of our assembly in the members and matters, 2. The hastening of the time, 3. The commodity of the place, 4. The discharge of intercepting of our letters in England; that same Saturday afternoon he went away towards court, hoping on Thursday to see the King. One of the causes that made some of our number to deal the more peremptorily with the Commissioner at this time, was his injurious letters to Aberdeen: for, in his way from court, he wrote not only to them great thanks, and moved the King to do the same, for their carriage towards our brethren; but spake of us contumeliously; yea, not only so, but for no words would he be put from printing a declaration of the truth in these calumnies, as he said, which we in our answers did put on him. For myself, I marvelled in the time, that the Commissioner should have made that demand about our mutual band in terms so advantageous for us, and should have professed satisfaction in our answers to that main impediment of our assembly: but having done so, I thought he would never have recalled it, or put it more in question; yet it seems his unfriends has made such informations of that his unadvisedness, that in all hazards he must retreat it. He was made assured, that the whole tables would testify the contrary of his declaration, and cause print their contradiction, that he thought it meeter to undergo all hazards, than to suffer that, whether true or false, alledgeance, to lie upon him, without his publick declaration,

claration, and the ministers answers to it, all printed, with our nobles letters to Aberdeen in writ.

In the heat of all thir actions, God did much encourage us with Father Abernethy the Jesuit's conversion. On the Thursday thereafter, Mr Andrew Ramfey's sermon made for the purpose, in a large half-hour's space, he made a very sweet discourse of his errors, and reclaiming by the grace of God, with many tears of his own and the most of his hearers. Thereafter, with great desire, he subscribed our covenant, and spake much to the commendation of it. After all our diligence to try, we can find no appearance of hypocrisy in the man. He shews us many things, which I hope to send you, with Mr Andrew's sermon in print. Amongst the rest, he told, that there is eighteen priests at least ever in Scotland. He gave their names and abode. He tells, that in England there will be above 6000; that at London there will be 300 masses sung every Sabbath; that he knew, about six years since, when he was at Rome, a conclusion passed in the congregation *de propaganda fide*, for to use means to draw the church of England to that of Rome, but to meddle no farther with our Scottish church than an association with England, upon hopes, by this conformity alone, to gain us fully by time. There went out in his name reports of Canterbury's intercourse of letters with the Pope, of the contriving our Scottish liturgy at Rome; but when I posed him on these, he denied his knowledge of any such matters, albeit he confessed to me some state-passages, which might have been prejudicial enough to him if they had gone abroad.

So soon as the Marquis went away, the tables advised on instructions for the general assembly to be executed presently after the 20th of September, the longest term which the Commissioner had craved for his return. Receive the common letter sent to the presbyteries, the instructions, some notes sent with them drawn out of the book of discipline and general assemblies, for the contentment of those who had scruples anent the voices of elders in chusing of commissioners for the assembly; also some private articles sent to pose ministers whom most they trusted. According to thir, a very solemn and general fast was kept every where the 16th of September; and thereafter all sessions did chuse their elders to go to the presbyteries after the 20th day, there to vote for the choice of
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of three ministers and one elder to take commission for the expected general assembly. Among us in the west there was a commission drawn up by Mr David to be the common form of all sessions. This I much disliked, as containing the heads of new, idle, and dangerous questions; which, when I saw, I caused alter into the form you see it, at least for my own session and some others.

All this time my mind was afflicted with doubts. I thought the King would never indict such an assembly as we could accept. I saw all resolved to have one according to their mind, though the King should discharge us. If I went not to it, being required, I foresaw much hurt would befall me; and to it I could not go as I was. In this strait, I sought much my God; and he has delivered me now out of thir thorns. I reasoned with the best of these that were against an assembly without the King. Their reasons I thought not pressing. My reasons I withheld from them; but to these who were laid down for it, I communicated my mind. None of my brethren gave me tolerable satisfaction. At last I went to Lord Loudon's house, and conferred two nights with him. I returned reasonably well satisfied, and well near resolved to countenance the assembly, forbid it who would. While I am in thir thoughts, behold a proclamation, indicting the Assembly at Glasgow the 21st of November. This put me out of all question. At this time also the Commissioner prevented his day. He came to Dalkeith the 15th of September. We could not for a while learn any of his news. The word went he was to intimate an assembly in the spring at Aberdeen. This displeased all. Our affairs could not admit of so long a delay. We would have taken it worse than a flat refusal. That place was extremely incommodious for old grave men to travel to in such a time of the year: yea, it was unsafe; for in and about that town there would be above 10,000 fighting men, who might have killed, or done injury to us all. But we found it far otherwise. The King's will was exceedingly gracious in the most of our desires. The unhappy books, the high commission also simply discharged, Perth articles made free, ministers entry as we could wish, bishops subjected to the assembly; the assembly and parliament indicted at the times and places we could have desired; only one thing frays us, the subscription of another covenant. This, and the convoy of it, make us tremble for fear of division;
also

also the continual rumours of the King's preparation for war; L. 200,000 Sterling taken up off the customs; L. 150 offered by the clergy for that end; L. 25,000 sent over to Holland for arms; appointing of the north to be ready for marching. Thir things make us fray. At some prior meetings, to fundry I regretted, who might, as I think, shew it to the Commissioner, for they had his ear, that they gave us our desires by bits, and with boasts; that in all likelihood the best means for calming of our minds were to grant us all at once, what by time they would suffer themselves to be driven to by any violence. This course at last is taken. If it had been used a little before, or yet if we could be persuaded of the sincerity of it, matters might go well; but the reason why we are yet malecontents still, see in our protestation, as also in the common letter which was sent athort the country with it. Time will decypher much.

Our presbytery, with one consent, on the 25th day, chose Lord Loudon for our elder of the shire, Mr Robert Barclay for the town of Irvine, Mr David Dickson, and me. Betwixt Mr John Bell, Mr Hugh Mackell, and Mr William Ruffel, many votes were divided; but plurality fell on Mr William Ruffel. Mr Michael was clean misregarded; whereof I am sorry for many reasons; but his wilful opposition of the laick elders procured him that affront; and will get him more, if, against all reason, he continue wilfully, as he is like to do. Paisley chose Mr William Brisbane, his son Mr Matthew, and Mr John Hamilton, and Bishopton. Mr John Hay, much abler than any of them, was past by for his too much countenancing of Mr John Creichton, and other reasons not inconsiderable. Glasgow had appointed Tuesday for their election. We all thought it expedient they should chuse Lord Eglinton for their elder. This I shewed by writ to some of the presbytery; whereupon they sent James Stewart of Chrystwall with a letter, subscribed by Mess. Bells elder and younger, Mr Robert Wilkie, Mr Zacharias, Mr James Sharp, and others, intreating the noblemen to be present with them at their election, with many kind, courteous, and pressing words. Upon this he goes, very evil in health, for we did all press him. Yesternight he writes, that his coming there was in vain: yet the presbytery would chuse none that day, and delayed the election to the 10th of October; had wrote a complimenting letter

to the Commissioner for the benefit and honour of the assembly in their town. For this I am exceeding sorry. How the matter went, I know not yet; but I am afraid that this action prove unhappy. This is the third time when their miscarriage will grieve the whole country. The example of taking a course by themselves is now pernicious to us all. It will be the first open door to division. Their last divisive motion had well near raised a mutiny amongst them, and a bloody trouble. I pray God this bring not hurt to us all, and them first of all: but of this more hereafter. We are all going to Edinburgh to our last consultations before the assembly. There goes a speech a-thort, in the name of the Duke of Lennox, dissuading the King from war with us. The speech at first was thought truly to be spoken at the council-table by the alledged author; but now we hear it is but supposititious. However, they say Canterbury is become our great friend, and by all means a persuader of the King to peace, though with the ruin of all the persons of our bishops. Their processes are fast forming. Brechin, they say, is undone. Adultery is like to be proven. The whore and the child goes up and down the streets proclaiming it: but besides, other probations are clearly to make it unquestionable. St Andrew's, I fear, be made infamous. No kind of crime which can be gotten proven of a bishop will now be concealed.

When I was on the point of going to Edinburgh, I received advertisement of a countermand from the meeting there, which had thought meet, for the Marquis's contentment, to hinder the convention of commissioners once appointed; for his Grace was offended, that before the assembly such a great convocation of the members of the assembly should meet: also the meeting dismissed, to the end that all gentlemen might be at home at the Michaelmas court; where, by the acts of parliament, the shires are ordained yearly to chuse commissioners for the parliament, whether indicted or not; so, lest his Grace should get nominate such men as he pleased, the gentry were required to be all in these courts, and attend that election. Since my voyage to Edinburgh was hindered, I went to Glasgow to see how all went. I found that the danger was greater than I feared. The proclamation was posted from Edinburgh hither by Orbiston, who rode with it on the Sunday for haste: yet the town-commissioner had prevented him;

for on Sunday advertisement came by him, that a protestation was used against it. For all that, it was applauded to by the town by too many with too much joy, without any number of protesting; the ministry standing in the cross, with a number of non-covenanters, joining in all the tokens of their joy, and concurring all in writing of the letter of thanks to the Marquis. Thereafter the principal, Mr Wilkie, Mr Bell, and others, went to the Marquis in Hamilton. It was feared they had promised too much to him. I found them peremptor for the equity of subscribing the King's covenant, and iniquity of our counter protestation, also very averse from chusing commissioners according to our mind. I could do no more but sorrow, and be afraid, with the principal, Mr Robert Wilkie, Mr Archibald Fleming, Mr William Wilkie, and mainly with Patrick Bell; whom the Marquis had caused the Bishop name provost, I think, by Mr William Wilkie's information to Dr Balcanqual and Patrick, caused my brother, Matthew Hamilton, William Neeson, to be made bailies, Walter Stirling dean of guild, men all simple, and at his own disposal. I shewed, since all our brethren in the covenant had protested, that this new subscription would be one of the most dangerous divisive motions that yet was used; if they would begin at the Commissioner's desire to subscribe, that the whole country could not but take them for traitors, and these men sworn, the authors of all their ruin. However, they were resolved of the expediency to subscribe: yet I knew that their wisdom could not permit them to practise their resolution, as indeed hitherto they have abstained. As for the chusing of their commissioners, I also shewed them all my mind. I was grieved to see their mind so far from our course; yet God guides good men even in their by-ways. The tables in Edinburgh wrote to them, that thirty-nine presbyteries already had chosen their commissioners, as they were desired; that the rest were in doing; that they heard of none who were unwilling yet; they would be intreated not to be first who should begin a dangerous preparative. Withal Lord Loudon, Mr David Dick, Mr Robert Blair, Mr James Bonner, came with instructions to clear their scruples, that they pretended against the chusing of elders for commissioners. It was so carried, that election was made of old Mr John Bell, Mr Zacharias, Mr James Sharp, and Lord Eglington, or, in his absence, Lord Fleming. Mr John Maxwell

Maxwell gave in a protestation, which no other would subscribe. The Marquis came in himself to receive the subscriptions, and laboured with them what he could till night, after Dr Balcanqual's sermon in the High church; but was forced to leave them to ten days advisement. So he went away with small contentment, and to my heart was brought great joy for the constancy of that town which we have reason to love best. We thought this subscription a very deep and dangerous plot, and so opposed it every where what we could. The Marquis and counsellors as yet have come no speed in obtaining hands to it. After ten days, Mr Elphinston, Justice-General, who now has Sir George's estate and house, and Belhaven, busy agents for his Grace, required the council to subscribe. George Porterfield, incontinent, at the table, used a protestation; but the provost required a delay yet of eight days. We hope this delay shall draw on to the assembly, which is all we crave. Had that one clause of subscribing another covenant been away, we had blessed the Marquis for his notable service at this time. At the table arose a great question about a clause of the proclamation. The Register had penned the subscription.

The subscription of the King's covenant, according to the tenor of it, Lorn, Advocate, and Wigton, desired it might be put in according to the date of the 1581 year, and as then the religion was professed; minding by this clause the exclusion of the bishops, and all other novelties since brought in our church. The inserting of this clause at last was obtained of his Grace; and in this clause divers do triumph. Receive also the protestation in print. There is inclosed in it both the reasons of protesting I spoke of, and against all prelimitation of the assembly; so ye lack nothing where ye have writ for print; also the demands of Aberdeen, with the Marquis's declaration going before, and our answers, with the tables reply to the Marquis's demands. Aberdeen's triply is come to the Marquis in print. He suppresses it, as he gives out, lest more matter of strife be ministered to the country. Whatever be the cause, it is sent to court to be revised: if it come to my hands, ye shall have it. I hope that town of Aberdeen is now likewise gained; for the crafts obtained by threats, that all their magistrates and council, according to the act of burrows, should be chosen of covenanters alone: and when the proclamation was made into it

by the Marquis of Huntly, to his face the protestation was read, Forbes, Frazer, and others, encouraging the citizens. It was required once and oftener by the noblemen, that his Grace would give a warrant to summon the bishops; but after this demand was shifted, another course was taken, which I shall send you. Lord Loudon, Boyd, and Mr Dick, according to the direction of the tables from Edinburgh, went in this last week to Glasgow, gave in a supplication, in name of covenanters who were not members of the general assembly against Mr Patrick Lindsay, minister at such a kirk, pretended Archbishop of Glasgow, and his colleagues, for crimes enough; and required justice, or an answer. The presbytery, after deliberation, resolved, and wrote it as an act, that such a complaint was made to them; which, for the weight of it, they remitted to the general assembly. The extract of this act, with the libel, was sent to the Bishop, and put in his hand by the church-beadle before two witnesses. This, being indorsed, is thought a sufficient summons. On the morrow, old Mr John Bell preaching in the High church the Thursday before the communion, made intimation to the people, that such a complaint was given in to the presbytery, which they thought meet not to conceal from them. So, by John Anderson the clerk's servant, the whole libel is read in the audience of the people. In the afternoon, the noblemen and others go to the session, and intreat, that the town would by no means subscribe any other covenant before the assembly. The provost would make no promise; which his answer, by Mr D. Dick's benign interpretation, was taken in good part. On that same last Wednesday the presbytery of Edinburgh pronounced the sentence of suspension against Mr David Mitchell, notwithstanding of the Marquis's not only request, but at last charge by a macer, to the contrary. This misregard highly commoved his Grace. But his wrath to-morrow was increased by the womens great insolency; who, finding that D. Elliot went to pulpit, when they expected Mr Henry, after sermon fell upon him and Mr Fletcher with many sad strokes: the cause and manner we know not yet clearly, but are all grieved at the heart for it, and wish, that the actors were exemplarily punished. The Marquis has called a frequent council against the 28th of this month. It is much feared, that he go to court, and leave us the ruling of the assembly as we please;
but

but if he should do so, we are resolved to keep the diet, and expects God to be with us, when we use our right in so needful a time. Great rumours of a huge preparation for horse and foot in England, of huge munition from Holland to them; yet our people are not a whit afraid. We see what we do be just and necessary; as for the hazards, we leave them to the provision of God, who is our only patron.

—For your subscribing of the covenant, I think it not needful, and them not wise that require it of you. None of our officers of state in council or session were desired. Sundry of the advocates were spared. If the burghs by any considerable commissioner require it of you, ye may then advise. Your preaching at Zuil, I think, you would omit; for so we mind in all our land, to whom you ought to conform.

—I marvel ye try not more your divines judgements of our matters. Voetius, and Rivet, Walleus, and others of note; we would be refreshed by their encouragement. I put no question but they are informed from many hands how matters go. If, against the synods, ye can furnish me with any farther helps about bishops, than are in Gerson, Bucerus, it is well. We had much need of all your prayers. The next Sabbath, and some following, the 4th of November, is a solemn fast for a blessing to the assembly. It is likely to be the most frequent and considerable one that ever was in this land: ye would do well to be at it ere it rise.—

The council of Edinburgh, before Michaelmas, cited Mr Rankin and Mr Brown, two of their regents, to answer for faults to be laid to their charge. Mr Rankin was then in England, and did not compear. It is thought he is an Arminian, and all what any of that faction maintains. Mr Brown compeared, and offered to clear himself of all that could be laid to his charge. But his process was short. It was shewed him, that he had his place only during their pleasure, and it was not their pleasure he or his colleague Mr Rankin should bruik their rooms any longer. So programs were affixed for the provision of two vacant places in their college. There was an accident that shortly would have begun our calamity, if it had not been seen to in time. The horse which our coupers had bought at Moton fair, were arrested many of them by the mayor of Newcastle. Johnston and others for that end hindered

hindered all the drovers of nolt and sheep to go through to England. Our noblemen dealt with the Marquis that the mayor's injurious arrestment might be loosed. When he made some delay, they told that they would quickly go and fetch them, or chuse as many in their room. Whereupon the Marquis presently wrote to Newcastle; who dismissed our horse; and since our borders have suffered the drovers to go through. The King's ships also on our coast troubled us a while: but after they had entered fundry of our ships, without any harm, and shewed that their commission was no farther than to search what they carried, that fear past. It is thought their main design was to have catched General Lesly by the way: but he, for fear of them, came over in a small bark. He has caused a great number of our commanders in Germany subscribe the covenant, and provided much good ammunition. It is thought many in England has intelligence with us, that the arms in England are mainly to suppress the lower-house men, of whom Canterbury stands in great doubt. The last meeting in Edinburgh concluded the articles ye have at S. The Sabbath following is the first fasting-day for the assembly. If God be with us, we hope to have our church and state in a better case than they have been for thirty years bygone: but if he desert us, we cannot avoid presently to fall into great danger to be a field of blood, and thereafter a poor flaved province, at the devotion, both in religion and laws, of a faction which to us is extremely suspected of wicked designs. Betwixt this great hope and great fear we now hang. The Lord be careful of us. You there are not feeling members, nor thankful for our oft compassionating your evils and dangers, if at this time ye join not in hearty prayers; for other help we have gotten little from any of the Reformed churches, which to us is marvellous. All foreign divines hitherto have been silent; they care not for our woes; though Popery should dwell in Britain, it seems they regard it not. However, the less comfort we have from men, we will lean the more to God. I wish my next letter may not be sorrowful; for I mind to write no more to you till our assembly be closed. Our commendations to you and your wife. The Lord be with you. I rest, November 1. your cousin.

Lacking a carrier for some days, I broke up my letters to shew you farther, that the 2d of November the Commissioner

missioner went to the tolbooth, and moved the Lords of Session, who were present, to subscribe the King's covenant: yet Durie, Craighall, Scotstarbet, and Innerteil, peremptorily refused. Thereafter, in the council, he was very pressing to have a declaration pass their hands, of a resolution, or command, or approbation of the King's will, to have Episcopacy standing with some caveats, and this not to be questionable in the ensuing assembly. To this fundry of the council were inclining; but after the Advocate's stout opposition, it was gotten crossed for that time. For this contradiction the Advocate was persecuted, by the Commissioner, with many unkind words. The noblemen gave in to the counsellors, by way of supplication, some reasons to hinder their assenting to any such declarations. We are glad of the motion; for the crossing of it in council will be a great encouragement for us in the synod, to determine in that matter what we find expedient. How all will go, he knows to whom we are all in our land now fast praying. We are resolved to keep the 21st in Glasgow, and to go on by God's grace, as we shall be answerable to God, oppose who will. It is like there shall be opposition. Ross is at court, and expected daily by the Commissioner, with the King's last commandments. We expect no grace from his hands; for it was his holy fingers who carried us down first the book of canons, and thereafter our book of service. If now he bring the discharge of the assembly, he but continues to be like himself, an unmeek, uncalm, and unhappy instrument for the peace of this poor church. The rest of his brethren the bishops are come to Edinburgh. Preparations in England for war go on; magazines of victual, mustering of great horses, on our borders, are talked of.

9. *To Mr William Spang. February 12. 1639.*

— Long ere now I had given you a large account of our assembly's proceedings, had I not this six weeks been daily expecting the extract of the acts to have been sent from the clerk, to our presbytery; but yet they are not come. We hear they are to be printed; yet we are not content of the delay. The reason of their inholding I cannot suspect: the press has been occupied with our
long-

long-looked for protestation ; yet it seems there must be more in it, which yet I know not. When they come out, either in writ or print, ye shall have them with my commentar. In the mean time receive some of my assembly-labours, my speech of Arminianism, and the books which I was forced to make in a very short time ; also my discourse of Episcopacy, together with two old meditations. Receive also the protestation ; consider it well. It meets with that bitter proclamation, which is put in print, and long ago dispersed over all England, if not farther, all that could be invented to make us and our assembly detestable. The Commissioner seemed to us one of the ablest and best-spoken statesmen the King has ; a great lover both of the King and his country. As he left nothing among us un essayed to get the King's will, so we hope he has done his endeavour, and will continue, to obtain the country justice at the King's hand. Though he has done all against our proceedings what the hearts of the bishops in any wisdom could have commanded him, yet we take all in good part, remembering the place that was put on him : so much the more also, that the supplication of the assembly, sent up with Mr George Winram, was presented by him to his Majesty, in all humility and earnestness. It was heard with attention ; and referred to the consideration of the Scots council at London. The King wrote thereafter to our council, that to be nearer information of our affairs, he was minded shortly to come down to York. In the mean time that they would be thinking of overtures. We are informed that the council of war sits daily ; that against Pasch or before, his Majesty, at York, is to visit his army of 6000 horse and 30,000 foot. The Marquis, at his upgoing, was in great perplexity and doubts ; however, he did all that could be done, and more than any other could effectuate. Yet the matter itself was of such a nature, that it could not be wrought to the King's purpose : yea, some passages did miscarry beside the doers intention, to the hindrance somewhat of the King's designs. The subscribing of the King's covenant by the council was so cunningly turned by flight of hand, that it became the sovereign engine to overturn Episcopacy, for the establishment of which it was only required by the King. The turning of this cannon on the King, lay heavy on the back of the Marquis's wisdom. To be unfortunate is a crime great enough

nough in a monarch's court; but such was either the strength of the Marquis's declaration, (which with the next ye shall have in print, and the answer of it also), or rather the benignity of our just prince, that for all his fear, yet he was most graciously received, and for a token of favour has gotten to his brother already the privy purse, and a place in the bed-chamber; whence the Earl of Ancrum is removed; whether for the zeal of Lothian his son, in the country's cause, or for his long infirmity, which made him very unmeet to lie in a prince's chamber, we do not yet know. We look for no other but in the spring the King to come in person, upon Lothian and Edinburgh, with a great land-army; that one part of his navy shall go to Aberdeen to join with Huntly, another to the coast of Fife and Lothian, a third to land from Ireland on us in the west some little army. We are conscious to ourselves of no crime against the laws of our church or state. We hope God will look on the equity of our cause. The little opposition we are able to make, is now making ready. I was lately of the mind that in no imaginable case any prince might have been opposed. I incline now to think otherwise. In all our questions I confess no change but in this only: whether I was brought, not by Parcus, or Buchanan, or Junius Brutus, for their reasons and conclusions I yet loath at; but mainly by Bilson, *De Subjectione*, where he defends the practice of all Europe, Spain, France, Germany, England, Flanders, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, who at divers times, for fundry causes, has opposed their princes. I am somewhat confirmed by the last duply of Aberdeen, which though wisely for a time was suppressed by the Commissioner, yet being sighted and approven by my Lord of Canterbury, is now come abroad among us. They will have us believe, that our whole state, were they to be all killed in a day, or to be led to Turkism, to be spoiled of all liberty, goods, life, religion, all; yet they may make no kind of resistance. The conclusion is horrible, and their proofs so weak, for all their diligence and learning, that I like it much worse than I did. I see the reformers of our Scottish church all to the contrary; Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Martyr, Beza, Abbots, Whittaker, also give leave to subjects, in some cases, to defend themselves, where the prince is absolute from subjection to any man, but not absolute from tie to the laws

of church and state, whereto he is sworn, which is the case of all Christian kings now, and ever also since the fall of the Roman empire. A pity that in thir most dangerous times Canterbury should cause print among us such conclusions, which if they came from the prince, would put all our people in absolute desperation; but God be thanked none of our princes did ever crave what they ascribe to them, let be to be absolved from the tie of laws, that no monothetick power, yea not that power to impose taxations, so far as yet we have heard, was ever assumed by any of our princes to this hour; but all our civil laws have ever been made, and the last taxation ever imposed by the King and his states in parliament or convention. This new faction, as it would destroy our religion, so it lays down grounds for the overthrow of the kingdom, and that under the fair pretext of advancing both. I am yet in study of this question; I pray you help me what you can upon it in your next. Rivet is much cast up against us; but so far as I find in his *Jesuita vapulans*, or in that psalm, I think without reason: it is marvellous if he condemn what his mother-church of France did approve, and that church of Holland, where he now lives, does this day practise. I wish ye wrote to him, and others there, concerning this matter; but so that ye be not found. I truly think that the only way to serve the King's authority among us, yea, to keep this poor kingdom whole and entire to his service, and of his posterity for ever, is our present uniform conjunction to hold off his arms by supplications, as hitherto we have done, or otherwise also, in case of necessity extreme and unavoidable: for if we should divide, and one part yield, or join with the King's army; besides the killing, of necessity, of numbers of the best of his Majesty's good and most loving subjects, who would be ready to go and die at the walls of Constantinople, let be of Rome, Vienna, or Madrid, in his service, the rest would be so weakened and discouraged, that no help for many years could be expected from us against any of the King's enemies, which at thir times were to the King, not only irreparable loss, but also a fearful danger, when England is so full of malecontents, to whom there appears no possibility of giving a satisfaction, so long as the Canterburian party keep their feet. The fear of our nation has kept our neighbours in order to this day: if we be so broken either in heart

heart or strength, that we cannot be in readiness, in a short warning, to flee to our sweet prince's back, storms are likely to arise in that flat air of England, which long has been glooming, that all the skill of the Archbishop's brain will have ado to calm, before a thunderbolt break on his own pate. But for state-matters we will meddle no farther, than to pray for our dear father K. Charles, and our poor mother the church and kingdom of Scotland. If they discord, it will cost us their children many tears and much blood. God, who is a father to both, send them good agreeance, and confound those who are the true cause of their variance, that shame being poured upon them, they may repent, and convert their wit for conjoining what they have been long putting asunder. —

10. To Mr William Spang.

History of the General Assembly at Glasgow in 1638.

Cousin,

AS ye earnestly desired, and I also did promise, receive now the proceedings of our assembly, as my memory, necessarily now short, after an half-year's time, with the help of some notes, can furnish. I will point at things which I conceive to be most material, passing fundry matters which the diaries gathered in the time, by the hands of many writers, does insist upon.

Notwithstanding the indiction, our hopes were but slender ever to see the downfitting of our passionately-desired assembly with the Commissioner's consent; for daily he found himself more and more disappointed in his expectation to obtain these things which it seems he put the King in hopes might be gotten. Episcopacy to be put in place of safety, above the reach of the assembly's hand, was now seen to be impossible, if his engines for this purpose, by the skill of his party, was turned back upon him. The council had subscribed the King's covenant, as it was expounded at the first in the 1581 year. His declaration, that Episcopacy was then in our church, and will, that the assembly should be discharged to meddle in the trial of this matter, could not be gotten concluded in a council-act. Sundry of the Lords of the Session being required to subscribe the covenant in that his sense, refused; with

a protestation, that the exposition of these parts which might make for or against Episcopacy, should be referred to the determination of the ensuing assembly. Noblemen and ministers did not dissemble their mind in their discourse of the unlawfulness, at least the inexpediency, of this office in our church, and so their design by any means to have it presently put down. This put his Grace in great perplexity; for he conceived, as some said, by the words and writs of sundry of our nobles of chief respect, that the assembly might have been gotten persuaded to establish, at least to permit, or pass by untouched, that office: when the contrary appeared, he was at a nonplus; for his instructions had made the place of bishops a *noli me tangere*; but their persons were permitted to the doom of the severest mouth among us, where their miscarrying had required censure. His next disappointment was in the matter of the covenant: he thought to have gotten the King's covenant universally subscribed, and ratified hereafter in the assembly; so that the other which had been subscribed by us before, might be quietly, without any infamous condemning of it, suppressed and buried. But far above, and against, all his thoughts, that covenant was universally refused; and, among these few that put their hands to it, divers avowed their mind, in all things, to be the same with those who had sworn the first. The missing of this intention increased his Grace's malecontentment. In two other designs also he found himself much deceived. He thought, an act for the freedom of the practice of Perth articles, might have contented us; and without condemning the matters themselves, before the parliament by supplication had been brought to the casting of the standing law: but an universal inclination appeared in all to have the things themselves tried without delay, and acts presently found anent them, as their nature required. Sicklike his instructions carried him to the removal of the high commission, books of canons, ordination, service, but not to reason or condemn any thing contained in any of them, which might have reflected against any public order, or any thing practised or allowed by my Lord of Canterbury, and his followers, in England or elsewhere. We in no case could be content, except we were permitted to examine all that were in these books, their matter now being the avowed doctrine of many in our church; and since we found the articles of
Arminius,

Arminius, with many points of the grossest Popery, in the books, sermons, and discourses, of our bishops and ministers, we were resolved to have these doctrines censured as they deserved, without any sparing with respect to any person who maintained them.

The Commissioner, finding himself mistaken in all these, and many more of his designs, was afraid to labour to discharge the assembly before it began, or at least to mar it so, if it sat down, that it should do no good. We referred to this intention his diligence to find subscribers to protestations against the assembly. We heard by our opposites of huge numbers of thir; yet when it came to the proof, there were but few who could be moved to put their hands to such an act; yea, not one who durst avow it, and reason the lawfulness of their deed. Some twenty hands at most were at the bishops declinature opposite to our covenant. A few others, especially eight of the presbytery of Glasgow, (who, to the Commissioner's great discontent, refused to adhere), made forms of protestations by themselves; but to no purpose. From this same intention, we alledged, flowed the putting to the horn, some days before our sitting, all these commissioners of the nobles, gentry, ministers, who, for any civil cause or pretence, could be gotten denounced, that so the synod should be deprived of many members. This practice was so new, and so strong reasons given in, why this kind of horning should hinder none from voicing in a synod, that no use was or durst be made of any such exception; only the Treasurer's good-will, by the invention, was collected to be but small toward our cause. A proclamation also was made, that none should come to the place of the assembly but such as were members, and that in a peaceable manner. We protested, all might come who had interest, of party, witnesses, voters, assessors, complainers, or whatever way; and that every man might come with such a retinue and equipage as the Lords of Council should give example.

These, and many more occurrences, put us in a continual fear of the assembly's discharge: yet the King's word was engaged so deeply, proclamations, publick fastings at his command, had already past; and mainly the King's thought, that the inserting what he had granted, anent the service-book, canons, and Perth articles, in the assembly's books, would give some contentment to the people,
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and disengage his promise of an assembly, though nothing more should be granted: these and such considerations made the assembly sit down, contrary to all our fears, and a fair face to be made for a while by the Commissioner, as if he intended nothing else, and confidently expected his sitting till all questions should be peaceably decided for the content of all.

On Friday, the 16th of November, we in the west, as we were desired, came to Glasgow; our noblemen, especially Eglinton, backed with great numbers of friends and vassals. We were informed, that the Commissioner and counsellors were to take up the town with a great number of their followers. So the nearest noblemen and gentlemen were desired to come in that night well attended. The town expected, and provided for huge multitudes of people, and put on their houses and beds excessive prices: but the diligence of the magistrates, and the vacancy of many rooms, quickly moderated that excess. We were glad to see such order, and large provision, above all mens expectation; for which the town got much thanks and credit. It can lodge easily at once, council, session, parliament, and general assembly, if need should require.

On Saturday most of our eastland noblemen, barons, and ministers, came in. In the afternoon the Lord Commissioner with most of the council came. The Earls of Rothes, Montrose, and many of our folks, went out to meet his Grace. Much good speech was among them; we protesting, that we would crave nothing but what clear scripture, reason, and law, would evince. His Grace assured, nothing reasonable should be denied. On Sunday afternoon, some of the wisest of the ministry consulted upon the ordering of affairs. For myself, I resolved not to be a meddler in any thing. I was well lodged. I had brought in a trunk full of my best books and papers. I resolved to read and write, and study as hard as I could, all incident questions. On Monday the ministry met in three divers places; for no one private place could contain us. Out of every meeting three were chosen, nine in all, to be privy to hear references from the nobility, barons, burrows, to ripen and prepare what was to be proponed in public. We laid it on Mr Alexander Somervail, an old half-blind man, fore against his heart, to preach on Tuesday. He did pretty well. He insisted at length on
the

the extirpation of all bishops, little to the contentment of some, but greatly to the mind of the most. Our privy consultation was about the clerk and the moderator. We were somewhat in suspense about Mr Alexander Henderson. He was incomparably the ablest man of us all for all things. We doubted if the moderator might be a disputer; we expected then much dispute with the bishops and Aberdeen doctors. We thought our loss great, and hazardous to lose our chief champion, by making him to be a judge of the party; yet at last, finding no other man who had parts requisite to the present moderation, (for in Mess. Ramsay, Dick, Adamson, Pollock, Cant, Livingston, Bonner, Cunningham, there were some things evidently wanting), we resolved, that Mr Henderson of necessity behoved to be the man. Mr Johnston to us all, was a nonfuch for a clerk.

In the afternoon, Rothes, with some commissioners, went to the Commissioner, shewing, that the custom of our church was, to begin her assemblies with solemn fasting; also, that in absence of the former moderator, the oldest minister of the bounds, or moderator of the place, used to preach, and moderate the action till another be chosen; that old Mr John Bell, for the reverence of his person, let be the other considerations, was meet to begin so great an affair. His Grace agreed presently to the fast. To the other motion he shewed, that it was his place to nominate the preacher to begin the action; that he knew none more worthy of that honour than the man they named; that he should think upon it. After an hour he sent Dr Balcanqual to Mr John, desiring him to preach on the Wednesday, and moderate till another was chosen. On Tuesday after sermon the fast was intimated, and preaching in all the churches to-morrow. In the afternoon, we, in our meeting, appointed preachers for all the churches, as we did so long as we remained in town, for we took it to be our place. However, Mr John Maxwell refused to lend his pulpit to any so long as the Commissioner staid; and craved of his Grace, that none might come there but himself. So for the two first Sundays, before and after noon, Mr John took the High church, and preached after his fashion, nothing to the matter in hand, so ambiguously, that himself knew best to what side he inclined. I moved in our meeting, that in our advertisements, at least, we might follow the course of Dort, the
commissioners

commissioners from one presbytery should have their ordinary meetings to advise together of any matter of importance; for there were five from every presbytery, three ministers, one from the shire and one from the burgh, which might help one another in consideration. This was applauded. But when we came to the action, this and fundry other good overtures could not be got followed. Every man behoved to do for himself. Private association could not be gotten kept. We intended to have had sermon in the afternoon, where we were, in the great church, and so to have delayed the opening of the synod till the morrow; but danger being found in law to delay the synod to another day than the King had appointed, we resolved to let the people continue in their humiliation in the other churches, but presently after sermon in the morning, we, the members of the synod, thought meet to begin our business.

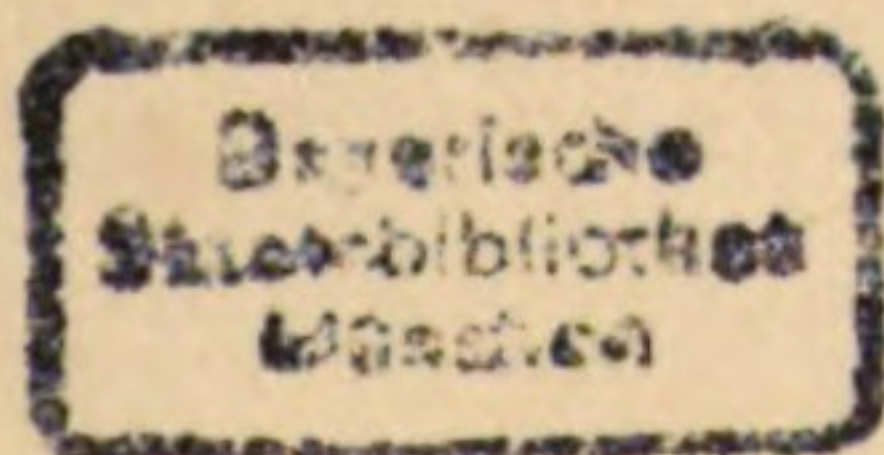
I. On Wednesday, the 21st of November, with much ado could we throng into our places, an evil which troubled us much the first fourteen days of our sitting. The magistrates, with their town-guard, the noblemen, with the assistance of the gentry, whilst the Commissioner in person, could not get us entry to our rooms, use what force, what policy they could, without such delay of time and thrusting through, as grieved and offended us. Whether this evil be common to all nations at all public confluences, or if it be proper to the rudeness of our nation alone, or whether in thir late times, and admiration of this new reformation, have at all publick meetings stirred up a greater than ordinary zeal in the multitude to be present for hearing and seeing, or what is the special cause of this irremediable evil, I do not know; only I know my special offence for it, and wish it remedied above any evil that ever I knew in the service of God among us. As yet no appearance of redress. It is here alone, I think, we might learn from Canterbury, yea, from the Pope, yea, from the Turks or Pagans, modesty and manners; at least their deep reverence in the house they call God's ceases not till it have led them to the adoration of the timber and stones of the place. We are here so far the other way, that our rascals, without shame, in great numbers, makes such din and clamour in the house of the true God, that if they minted to use the like behaviour in my chamber, I would not be content till they were down the stairs.

When with great difficulty we were set down; the Commissioner in his chair of state; at his feet, before, and on both sides, the chief of the council, the Treasurer, Privy Seal, Argyle, Marr, Murray, Angus, Lauderdale, Wigton, Glencairn, Perth, Tullibardine, Galloway, Haddington, Kinghorn, Register, Treasurer-depute, Justice-General, Amont, Justice-Clerk, Southesk, Linlithgow, Dalziel, Dumfries, Queensberry, Belhaven, and more; at a long table in the floor, our noblemen and barons, elders of parishes, commissioners from presbyteries, Rother, Montrose, Eglinton, Cassils, Lothian, Wemyss, Loudon, Sinclair, Balmerino, Burleigh, Lindsay, Yester, Hume, Johnston, Keir, Auldbar, Sir William Douglass of Cavers, Durie younger, Lamington, Sir John Mackenzie, George Gordon, Philorth, Tairie, Newton. Few barons in Scotland of note but were either voters or assessors from every burgh, the chief burghs; from Edinburgh James Cochran and Thomas Paterson; from all the sixty-three presbyteries three commissioners, except a very few; from all the four universities also, sitting on good commodious forms, rising up five or six degrees, going round about the low long table. A little table was set in the middle, fore-
nent the Commissioner, for the moderator and clerk. At the end an high room, prepared chiefly for young noblemen, Montgomery, Fleming, Boyd, Areskine, Linton, Creighton, Livingston, Ross, Maitland, Drumlanrig, Drummond, Keir, Elcho, and sundry more, with huge numbers of people, ladies, and some gentlewomen, in the vaults above. Mr John Bell had a very good and pertinent sermon, sharp enough against our late novations and Episcopacy. The pity was, the good old man was not heard by a sixth part of the beholders. That service ended, Mr John came down to the little table, began the synod with hearty prayer; which I seconded with affectionate tears, and many more, I trust, with me. My Lord gave in his commission to Mr Thomas Sandilands, as deputed by his father Mr J. Sandilands, commissar of Aberdeen, clerk to the last general Assembly. His Grace harangued none at all, as we expected he would. We found him oft thereafter as able to have spoken well what he pleased as any in the house. I take the man to be of a sharp, ready, solid, clear wit; of a brave and masterly expression; loud, distinct, slow, full, yet concise, modest, courtly, yet simple and natural language. If the King

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have



have many such men, he is a well-served prince. My thoughts of the man before that time were hard and base; but a day or two's audience wrought my mind to a great change towards him, which yet remains, and ever will, till his deeds be notoriously evil. His commission was in Latin, after a common, legal, and demibarbarous style; ample enough for settling all our disorders, had not a clause containing instructions made it to restrict and serve ill. I have not yet got the copy. After this our commissions were given in to the moderator and clerk for the time, almost every one in the same tenor and words, containing a power from the presbytery to the three ministers, and one elder, to reason, vote, and conclude, in their name, in all things to be proponed, according to the word of God, and the Confession of Faith of the church of Scotland, as we shall be answerable to God and the church. The presbyteries, burghs, universities, were called after the order of some roll of the old assemblies, not of the latter. This was the labour of the first day.

2. On Thursday, the second diet, we had no scant of protestations, more than a round dozen were enacted. After long delay, and much thronging, being set in our places, the moderator for the time offered to my Lord Commissioner a leet, whereupon voices might pass for the election of a new moderator. Here arose the toughest dispute we had in all the assembly. His Grace, the Treasurer, Sir Lewis Stewart, (for after the rencounter I wrote of at the council-table, the Advocate's service was no more required, but Sir Lewis used in his room), reasoning and pressing with great eagerness, that in the first place, before any synodical action, the commissions might be discussed, lest any should voice as commissioners whose commission was null, at least not tried to be valid. This was a ready way to turn the assembly upside down, and to put us in a labyrinth inextricable; for before the constitution of the synod, the Commissioner would have so drawn in the deepest questions, such as the power of elders, the state of ministers censured by bishops, and many more, which himself alone behoved to determine, no assembly being constitute for the discussion of any question. Against this motion, as rooting up all possibility ever to settle any assembly, but at the Commissioner's simple discretion, Rothes, Loudon, (Balmerino through all the assembly resolved to be well near mute) Dickson, Living-
ston,

ston, Henderson, reasoned, that custom, equity, and necessity did enforce the chusing a moderator and clerk before the commissions be discussed, or any thing else done. After much subtile, accurate, and passionate pleading; for both sides had prepared themselves, it seems, for this plea; the Commissioner craved leave to retire with the council for advisement. After a long stay in the chapter-house, returning, he was content to permit voicing for the moderator; with protestation, That this voicing should not import his approbation of the commissions of any voicer against whom he was to propone any just exception in due time, or his acknowledgement of any voicer for a lawful member of the assembly. His Grace required instruments also of another protestation, That the nomination of a moderator should be no ways prejudicial to the lords of the clergy, their office, dignity, or any privilege, which law or custom had given them. Against both thir Rothes took two instruments, in name of the commissioners from presbyteries and burghs, protesting, That his Grace's protestations should in nothing prejudice the lawfulness of any commission against which no just nullity should be objected in the time of the trial of the commissions; also that his Grace's second protestation should not hinder the discussing the nature of the office, and the alledged privileges of the pretended bishops, in this present assembly. Lord Montgomery, in name of the pursuers of the complaint against the bishops, protested, That his Grace's protestation should not be prejudicial to the discussing, in this present assembly, of their complaints against the persons, titles, dignities, and privileges of the pretended bishops. Mr Jo. Bell urged the voicing for the moderator; but his Grace shewed, that there was presented to him a paper, in name of the bishops, which he required then to be read. Here also was some sharp reasoning. Divers alledged, that no bill, supplication, protestation, or whatsoever, should be read to the assembly, before it was an assembly; but immediately after the assembly's constitution, it should be in his Grace's option to cause read that paper of the bishops, or any other, to which the assembly's answer should be returned. After reasoning, and requesting, his Grace used his authority to require the reading of the paper. At once there arose a tumultuous clamour of a multitude crying, No reading! No reading! This barbarous crying offended the Com-

missioner, and the most of all. Silence being gotten, his Grace protested, That the refusal of hearing that paper was unjust. Rothes also required acts of his protestation, in name of the commissioners, That the refusal was just and necessary. All being wearied with the multiplication of protestations, except the clerk, who with every one received a piece of gold, his Grace, whether in earnest or in scorn, protested of our injury in calling the Lords Bishops pretended, whom yet the acts of parliament authorised. Rothes, in our name, protested, That they behoved to be taken for pretended, till this assembly had tried the challenges which were given in against all their alledged prerogatives. How needless soever many of his Grace's protestations seemed to be, yet I was glad for his way of proceeding. It gave me some hopes of his continuance among us. I thought that this way of protesting had been resolved wisely in council, whereby the Commissioner might sit still till the end, and yet, by his presence, import no farther approbation to any of our conclusions than he found expedient. By appearance this course had been much better than that abrupt departure, which his posterior instructions, to all our griefs, and the great marring of the King's designs, forced him to. Mr John Bell again presented his leet for moderation. His Grace shewed, that his Majesty had written letters to six of the counsellors, Treasurer, Privy Seal, Argyle, Lauderdale, Carnegie, and Sir Lewis Stewart, as I think, to be his assessors, not only for council, but voicing in the synod. Argyle's letter was publickly read, that this his Majesty's desire should be condescended to before any farther proceeding. It was replied, with all respect to the worthy nobles named, That my Lord Marquis, in the produced commission, was appointed sole Commissioner; that assessors were only for council, and not for multiplication of voices; that the King in person could require but one voice; that the giving of more voices to the assessors might give way, not only to very many, as in some unallowable assemblies it had been, but to so many as by plurality might overway all. Against this refusal his Grace protested, with some grief; and we also, desiring that our reasons might be inserted without protestation. At last we were permitted to chuse the moderator. Mr John Ker, Mr John Row, Mr J. Bonner, Mr William Livingston, and Mr Alexander Henderson, were put in the leet by

by Mr John Bell; for the leeting of the new is in the hands of the old. Mess. Ramsay, Pollock, and Dickson, for withdrawing of votes, were holden off. All without exception went upon the last, as in the most of our matters there was no diversity at all, or where any, it was but of a few. I remember not how his Grace voiced; but it was his custom to voice rather by way of permission, than to say any thing that might import his direct assent, for it seemed he resolved to keep himself in all his words and deeds so free, that he might, when he would, disavow all that was done, or to be done, in that assembly. Mr Henderson being chosen with so full accord, made a pretty harangue, whether off-hand or premeditated, I know not. There was a conclusion taken that night, after some reasoning to the contrary, to have but one session in the day, to sit from ten or eleven, to four or five. So we were all relieved of the expences of a dinner. An only breakfast put us all off till supper, for commonly we sat an hour with candle-light. We ended this day with the moderator's prayers. Among that man's other good parts, that was one, a faculty of grave, good, and zealous prayer, according to the matter in hand; which he exercised, without fagging, to the last day of our meeting.

3. In our third session, on Friday November 23. the moderator presented a leet to be voiced for chusing the clerk. Here a longer dispute than needed fell out, betwixt the Commissioner and the moderator, whom Rother, but especially Loudon, did second. The Commissioner, whether of true intent to have a base clerk, of whose submissiveness to their injunctions they might be hopeful, or to shew his piety and equity to see every one kept in their right, where he had place, though he professed small obligation to the young man, who for no intreaty would be pleased to show him any blink of the assembly's books; yet pressed much that the young man Mr Thomas Sandilands might serve here, as his father Mr James Sandilands commissar of Aberdeen, his depute, since his father's decease, could not spoil him of an advantageous office, whereto he was provided *ad vitam*. Yet it was carried, that since his father was not provided to that office but by Mr Thomas Nicolson's demission, and a corrupt assembly's consent, without any mention of deputation; also since he was so infirm as he was unable
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to attend the service, and unwilling to reside at Edinburgh, where the registers of the church behoved to lie: for thir, and many other reasons, the clerk's place was found to be vacant. Consideration was promised to be had of Mr Thomas Sandilands's interest, which he submitted to the assembly's discretion. In the leet Mr Thomas was first, after John Nicol, and Alexander Blair, and Mr Archibald Johnston. The Commissioner would not voice to any of them, because he saw no lawful demission of the former clerk. The moderator then took his Grace for a *non liquet*. Yesternight's plea was here renewed. His Grace required that his assessors voice might be craved in the clerk's election: the moderator thought it unfit to trouble their Lordships to voice about a clerk, since they did not voice to the chusing of the moderator, a superior office. Many words were here spent, till at last reasons in writ were produced, why the Commissioner and his assessors should have but one voice. I thought, in the time, these reasons were of an high strain, and some of them struck deeper on authority than I could have wished. Traquair craved a double of them, and promised an answer; but the subsequent affairs, or somewhat else, hindered that answer yet to appear. This high, yea highest question, (for in all the assembly we had nothing else that concerned authority), was closed by the renewing of yesternight's protestation, on both sides.

The leet put to voicing, Mr Archibald Johnston, by all save one, was elected. Being deeply sworn, he was admitted to all the rights, profits, privileges, which any in former time had enjoyed by that place. To him, Mr James Sandilands, in face of the assembly, delivered two registers, which contained the acts of the kirk since the year 1590, testifying that his father had never any more in his custody. The moderator required all earnestly to procure the production of any of the church-registers that could be had; for the loss of such a treasure as the church's evidences was pitiful. His Grace protested his willingness to do his endeavour for so good a work. Rother intreated that the bishops might be caused deliver what they had; for it was known that K. James had sent a warrant to Mr Thomas Nicolson late clerk, to deliver to the Bishop of St Andrew's the registers of the church. After much regretting the irreparable loss of these writs, the new clerk declared, that by the good providence of
God,

God, these books they spake of were come to his hands, which he there produced to all our great joy. Five books in folio, four written and subscribed, and margined with the known hands of one Gray and Ritchie, clerks to the general assembly, containing the full register from the Reformation in 1560, to the year 1590, where Mr Thomas Sandilands's books began, except some leaves which Bishop Adamson had torn out. Thir one Winram, depute to Mr Thomas Nicolson, had left to one Alexander Blair, his successor in office, from whom Mr Johnston had got them. The first was an extract, by way of compend, from the 1560 to the 1590, whereby, in a good part, the twenty-three leaves of Adamson's rapine might be restored. The moderator craved that these books might be sighted by Argyle, Lauderdale, and Southesk: but the Commissioner would not permit his assessors to undertake such employment, since they were refused to voice in the assembly; but he was content that a committee of the members of the synod should be named, to try if these books were authentick and full registers. So Mr Andrew Ramsay, Mr John Adamson, Mr James Bonner, Mr John Row, Mr William Livingston, Mr Robert Murray, with young Durie, the clerk of Dundee, and Mr Alexander Pierse advocate, were appointed to their report and reasons, as soon as they could. The moderator then required, that for the assembly's full constitution, the commissions might be put to trial. But the Commissioner caused D. Hamilton first to be called, and present his paper to be read. His Grace urged much, that since the former objections were removed, of the want of a moderator and clerk, the paper might now be read. It was replied, over and over, that it could not be, till by the discussion of the commissions the assembly were constituted. Traquair pressed, That the paper possibly had exceptions against the lawfulness of the election of the commissioners, which were impertinent to alledge, if once they were approved. The Commissioner assured, he knew not what was in these papers; but presupposing they were formed for the opening of the eyes of those who were to voice, anent the members of the assembly, it was the only time to read them before the voicing. Rothes replied, That exception against particular commissioners might not be proponed, until the trial of their commissions; and exceptions against the whole assembly could not be heard till it were an assembly.

sembly. The moderator added, that if in that paper there were any light to open their eyes, they should shortly profess their repentance of their error in not reading it, when it was required. His Grace protested, That this not reading before the trial of the commissions, should import no prejudice to the lords of the clergy, and their adherents; and of this protestation he required an act from the new clerk's hand. The clerk said, he could write no act without the assembly's warrant, and it could give no warrant till once it was in being. The Commissioner then required instruments, in my Lord Register's hands, of his protestation, since the clerk refused. The clerk shewed his willingness, at the moderator's directions, to write his Grace's protestation; but might give no extracts till the assembly were constitute. In the forming of this protestation, the clerk, I thought, was to seek in that; his wit he kythed ever thereafter; the act behoved to be formed and reformed; the Commissioner and the clerk shaped it over and over again, ere they could fall on a fashion which his Grace could like. This made me pity Johnston, and think him the better advocate than clerk; but the youth's tried sufficiency in both the acts proves my mistaking, or at least that this intake in the first entry to his office was but occasional, and merely accidental.

In the progress of this dispute his Grace shewed the necessity that was laid on him, in this passage, to be punctually circumspect, for howbeit he was a great Commissioner; yet he was but a poor subject and servant, liable to account for all his service. Much reasoning was that the bishops exceptions against the judges should be heard, before they were acknowledged and constitute for judges. When Traquair and Loudon had harped on this string a while, Argyle lends in his word, that a party gives in their exceptions against the assize before it be sworn, so why might not the bishops give in their exceptions against the assembly, which now was like an assize, called and convened, but not yet sworn. The moderator, cuttedly, (as the man naturally hath a little choler, not yet quite extinguished), answered, That the Commissioner, his Grace, was of great sufficiency himself; that he only should speak there; that they could not answer to all the exceptions that a number of witty noblemen could propone; that these who were not commissioners

would do well to inform his Grace of what they thought meet, in convenient time. This check, I believe, was intended more for others than for Argyle, who would have taken it worse if it had fallen on their fingers. Always Loudon took it off in a quick jest, that my Lord Argyle's instance was good, if the bishops had compeared as pannelled men before an assize. This wearisome plea ended that day's action, for his Grace acquiesced in his protestation.

4. The fourth session, on Saturday 24th of November, we waited long, till near twelve, for his Grace's coming in. The reason of this delay was not so much his breakfast; which was indeed daily magnificent and sumptuous, for so the King allowed, that his Commissioner, in all his voyages, should have a royal table; yet the reason of his Grace's almost daily lateness was his consultations with his cabinet-council, and long writs to the King, which were daily dispatched of all occurrents. In the mean while the moderator named preachers for all the churches, I think, without their advice. Well I wot I had no thought of preaching; yet being nominate as one to preach to-morrow with Mr James Bonner in the Blackfriars, I could by no intreaty get it declined; so I behoved to depart, and make me ready so well as I could in so short a time. It is true, a month before I was advertised, that, among the rest who were named preachers at the assembly, I was one; yet not thinking to be so soon employed, I could make no use of what I had prepared for that end. When his Grace came in, the moderator required, that, for the more quick dispatch, his Grace would be pleased, that the assembly might go on with some affairs at the hour appointed, which should all be repeated to his Grace at his entry. The Commissioner replied, that he was sent there by his Majesty to attend this business alone; so it behoved him to be an eye and ear witness of all that passed, that his account might be the more faithful. The commissions fell next to be examined; they were given in, to the number of 112, from presbyteries, burghs, universities. The moderator, for expedition, required, that all in the order of the catalogue should be read; that the commission against which any exception should be taken, might be laid aside for posterior trial; that these against which nought was by any objected, should be taken by their silence to be approved. The Commissioner protested, That his silence

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should not be taken for an approbation of any man's commission, but in due time should do it. Amongst all the commissions none were controverted but thirteen. Peebles was protested against by Mr Robert Elliot, as if it had been procured by my Lord Treasurer's indirect dealing. Here arose a plea, which continued two or three days thereafter. The Treasurer justified his proceedings in many words, inveighed sharply against the person of that minister, required that his Grace would see justice done on him for libelling in such a place against a prime officer of state. The Commissioner promised him reason. The moderator admonished the Treasurer to speak of the man in no other terms than was due to a minister of Jesus Christ. Rothes and others took the assembly for judges of whatever wrong was done by that protestation. So mild and humble was my Lord Treasurer, that he offered to submit the censure of his carriage in that election to any one member of the assembly. After much debating in publick and private before a committee appointed for that end, the commission was approven; the fault of the protesting minister was thought to deserve no sharper censure than by a few words. But the most part of that day was spent in a hotter controversy about the commission of Brechin. The presbytery had chosen first the Laird of Dun for elder; thereafter they met in a more full number, and the plurality of voices were carried to my Lord Carnegie. Dun's commission being sent to be advised by the table at Edinburgh, was returned, with the reasons of their approbation written on the back, and subscribed with the hands of Montrose, and divers others of that table. The clerk, I think unadvisedly, read in publick, not only the commission, but also the table's subscribed approbation on the back. His Grace presently caught the advantage, required a double of that commission under the clerk's hand, as it was read, back and fore, that he might be thereby the better instructed for objecting against it and other commissions. This, after long dispute, was refused him; because the back of the commission was both written and read accidentally, and so extracts of it could not be granted. When Mr David Dickson spake of this back-writ, as having some negligence in it, Montrose took him hotly, and professed their resolution to avow the least jot that was wrote. The plea at last ended that day with his Grace's protestation, That the double of that back writ was refused him,

him. The trial of thir two commissions was given to a privy committee; who, after some days debate, found both to be rejected. Against the commission of Rothsay, we of Irvine objected, That the Isle of Bute was a part of our presbytery. In the trial it was found meet to reject the commission; and thereafter that Rothsay, having but three kirks, should be annexed to the presbytery of Dunoon, to be erected of new in Cowal; for in prior assemblies the whole diocese of Argyle was not divided in several presbyteries, nor the isles, nor Orkney; but we took a course in this assembly for that confusion. The commissions of both the presbytery and college of Glasgow were laid aside; of the college, because there were put in four names, Mr John Maxwell among the rest, a non-covenanter. In this we missed the principal's wisdom, or rather found his too great wit. No university had ever offered, so far as we knew, to send more commissioners than one; they thought, that their university might have the privilege of a presbytery, to send four, unless a law could be produced that restricted to one. In the trial, many checks fell on the principal, especially from Mr John Adamson, who somewhat petulantly reproached him, when he touched the novelty of the style of the university of Edinburgh: but the chief reason why many mouths were ready to carp at all Dr Strang said, and to dash him at every occasion, was, besides the main passages of his former carriage since the beginning of this matter, a late very much disliked dealing at their presbytery's election of their commissioners, he had much objected; yet Mr John Maxwell alone had used a formal protestation against the voicing of ruling elders in that election: but some fourteen or twenty days before the assembly, the principal and Mr Maxwell drew up a protestation; to the which they got the hands of other six of their presbytery, Mr Robert Wilkie, Mr John Bell younger, Mr John and Mr George Forsyth, Mr A. Forbes, and Mr James Hutchieson, striking against the election of elders, and, by consequence, the constitution of our assembly, all the members whereof were chosen after the same manner. This writ was put in the principal's hand for custody, not to be given in without the consent of all; yet, as it seems, by William Wilkie's procurement, it was delivered without the knowledge of the rest to the Marquis, who made use of their example to make others do the like. It was carried so closely,

that we never suspected any such thing till the Friday, the third day of our assembly. Upon the first air of it we rested not till we found it out. We all take it for a dangerous undermining plot, at least for a design, so far as in them lay, to have overthrown our assembly, and divided us all. The invention we ascribed to the principal and Mr William Wilkie. On the Monday we convened the principal and others in Lord Loudon's chamber. Mr David Dickson moderator, Mr Rutherford, and I, reasoned and intreated the principal to pass from that writ. We were at last plain with him, that if he would stand to it, it behoved us to deal with him as an open enemy. He was put to great perplexity; the writ was not now in his power. The Marquis, by his recalling, would be more displeased than he had been pleased with the gift. Our reasons and boasts had persuaded all the rest almost of his party to repent their rashness; yea, the most of them under their hand to pass from it. The principal at last did the like, but out of time, about the end of the assembly, and in such a way as did not satisfy. It was an unhappy action, and the ground of much trouble to our good friends. Upon this the Marquis caused lay by Lord Eglinton's commission for Glasgow; yet in the trial that commission was approved for the protestation against it. When the Marquis proceeded to cause it to be read, the ingiver Dr Strang stood up, and opposed the reading, to his Grace's great malecontentment, neither to our great liking, since it was not heartily and fully recalled. The university's commission was annulled; but they were desired to convene, and renew their commission to some one. This they did not; for since they had so involved themselves that they could not, nor would not, nor durst not, side with either of the parties, they resolved to be absent. This course moved many, especially of the gentry, to call in publick for Dr Strang to give account of his commission, intending to have dealt with him in rigour, as a decliner of the assembly; but by the procurement of the moderator, Mr David Dickson, and some others of us, we got their indignation eluded; only there was a committee appointed from the assembly, the convener whereof was Argyle, to visit the college, wherein we intended not to have deposed any of their members, as they feared we would, and had occasion so to do, but only to establish with their own consent Mr David Dickson conjunct professor of divinity
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with the principal, that, by his grace and diligence, the great backwardness we had oft found in that college and town might be removed without any man's trouble. To this motion they seem to applaud; but the multitude of great affairs has hindered the meeting of their visitation to this day, and now it is well near forgotten.

5. On Monday, the 26th day of November, was our fifth session. The rest of the commissions were read, and these few which had been objected against were put to trial. His Grace protested to have liberty to object in his own time. Rothes pressed the present time to be most fit for objecting; yet we gave his Grace what time he would. There were three or four commissions of the north tinkled upon. The university of Aberdeen sent their Humanist, one Lundie, to have their foundation rectified. This man had a voice among us, and a committee was appointed for the town of Aberdeen to visit their college. The presbytery of Aberdeen sent two commissions, one with their moderator Mr David Lindsay, parson of Belhelvie, a stirring and pragmatick bold man, and D. Boyle; another with one Harvy, for himself and D. Barron, and, as I think, D. Sibbald. In the trial we found Belhelvie's commission to be approven, and the others rejected; yet heartily we wished the coming of D. Barron and his colleagues. For a time we were put in confidence of their presence, and of some of the bishops. Ross, Brechin, and Gallo-way, were in the castle of Glasgow, as I remember, that day, and sundry days thereafter in the palace of Hamilton; but it has been their resolution, taken in common with the Commissioner, not to compear, knowing the Commissioner's determination to desert and leave us, as shortly he did. One Mr Thomas Mackenzie came with a commission from the Chanrie of Ross; but was rejected, when we had considered the protestation of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat, Seaforth's uncle, against it. Mr Thomas being rejected, gave in a protestation against ruling elders, with odious accusations against the tables of Edinburgh. Rothes and the Marquis both craved instruments of the production of that protestation; but the man at once went off the town. We found him thereafter a subscriber of the bishops declinature, and a most vicious fellow, and so deposed him from his ministry. Now at last we found the assembly, to our great joy, fully constitute, and so we went in to our business. The first matter was
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the trial of the church-registers. The committee for that end was desired against to-morrow to give in their perfect report. When Mackenzie's protestation against elders voicing in assemblies was read, Mr A. Ramsay got up in a storm, and with great confidence undertook to prove, from scripture, fathers, consent of reformed churches, our own church-practice, and assembly-acts, that ruling elders were lawful and necessary members of assemblies. The Commissioner professing his own insufficiency, promised to produce some who should prove the contrary. Balcanqual gibed in private at Andrew's brag, likening him to the English champion, who provokes all the court to fight him in the King's presence in the quarrel of the King's crown. Yet I think Mr Andrew would have made his word good against any of his Grace's disputers, if they durst have come forward.

6. On Tuesday the 27th was our sixth session. The committee gave in their report of the five books of assembly, and their reasons why they took them for good and authentick registers, as ye may see them in print in our assembly-acts. The Commissioner, being resolved, as it seems, to be a consenter to nothing, though he professed many of his scruples loosed by these reasons, yet did not approve of these as authentick registers. The moderator, for the weight of the matter, delayed the voicing till the morrow, desiring all to be ready then to object or approve. The moderator then proponed the naming of assessors to himself, and of a privy conference. Mr D. Dalgleish remembering the Episcopal abuse of the privy conference to enervate and subvert the assembly, made all unwilling to hear of any more privy conferences. Assessors by any public act were thought needless; but it was permitted to the moderator to nominate whom he would to convene with him in private an hour before the publick meeting, for ordering matters to be treated that day. His Grace protested, That such nomination should not be prejudicial to the right he heard his master was in possession of, to order the matters to be proponed in the assembly as he thought meet. Rothes affirmed the ordering and proponing of things to be proponed was the moderator's due. The moderator thought his Grace's protestation needless, since all that was to be proponed should be in his Grace's audience, and with his own consent. For his privy assistance, he named, of the ministers, Mr Henry Pollock,

lock, Mr John Adamson, Mr David Dickson, Mr David Dalgleish; of the nobility, Rothes, Montrose, Lindsay, Loudon, Balmerino; of the gentry, Cavers, Keir, Waughton; of the burrows, James Cochran, James Fletcher, Mr Robert Barclay. For the bills, the assembly nominated Mr David Lindsay, Mr James Bonner, Mr William Livingston, Mr David Strang, Mr Guild, Mr Andrew Affleck, Mr Robert Douglass nul. Calm Mr George Haliburton. Of the nobility, Cassils and Burleigh; of the gentry, Dundas and Auldbar; of the burrows, John Semple and Mr Robert Cunningham. At this time came in the long-urged declinature and protestation of the bishops. So soon as it was read out by the clerk, my Lords Montgomery, Fleming, Elcho, Boyd, and young Durie, took instruments, in name of the complainers, against the bishops, of their acknowledging their citation, of their compearance by their proctors, of their wilful absence in person, that sentence may be given against them as present, as ye may see in the instrument against all the points of this protestation by Durie. His Grace protested. Thereafter his Grace produced three other papers; one subscribed by the Dean of Edinburgh, Mr David Mitchell, Mr Alexander Thomson, Mr James Forsyth, and others, to the number of twenty hands, bearing the name of a supplication, but leading in a protestation against the assembly if elders or commissioners should have voice; another to the same purpose, subscribed by the ministers of Dundee, and some few there; a third by the eight named of the presbytery of Glasgow. This was hardly gotten suppressed by Dr Strang the author of it, and it was cast by with the Commissioner's open indignation. We were glad that the huge number of protestors wherewith we were threatened, and which in all the kingdom carefully were sought out, were now found out to be but small, and of so little consideration, divers at once publicly recanting their subscriptions. The rest to this day are favourers of the books, and allows of the course which obtruded them. Against these protestations the moderator caused read some papers for elders places in synods, I think of Mr David Calderwood's penning, who lived all the time of the assembly privily beside the moderator's chamber, and furthered what he could by his studies all our proceedings,

7. On Wednesday, before we entered, we heard a bruit of the Commissioner's purpose to leave the assembly that day, and to break it up so far as he could; which was to all our grief, and somewhat beside our expectation; for however we had but small hopes of the assembly's sitting down with the Commissioner's consent, yet since it was set, and protestations only used against the things he disliked, we thought that course of protesting might have continued, and the assembly not broken up, at least not so soon; so much the more as the Commissioner had oft vented among us, not only his desire, but also his hopes and confidence, to sit till matters were brought to some tolerable conclusion: but that it was otherways we imputed it to some new instructions, brought down by the Bishop of Ross, who lately was come from court to the town. Yet some say he had not seen the King at this voyage, and the Commissioner had pressed the King peremptorily, at his departure, to give no audience to any of the Scottish clergy anent the affairs committed to him, and had gotten his promise for it; also that the raising of the assembly was resolved to be commanded as it was, before it sat down. The business which came first to hand was the assembly-books. The moderator required oft, if any had reasons to propone, why they should not be taken for authentick registers of our church, which hereafter might make faith in judgement. The Commissioner, with great affection, testified his earnest desire of seeing the church restored to her registers; yet necessity was laid upon him against his heart, to protest against the acknowledging of these books to be true and sufficient registers; and that neither his master, nor the lords of the clergy, should suffer prejudice by any act in any of these books, which had not been delivered by the clerk's son. Notwithstanding of this protestation, all the assembly, in one voice, accepted of the books as the true and authentick registers of our church. It is one of the notable passages of God's providence towards our church, that these books were not destroyed, or put in hands whence we should never have drawn them these forty years bygone; so great a desire being in the heart of the prince and prelates for covering in perpetual darkness of our old assemblies which crossed their intentions; so great negligence on our part, to keep these monuments, that no man among us, so far as ever I could hear, knew what was become of them,

but all took it for granted that they were in St Andrew's possession, who would be loath ever to let them go, or any true double of them. Yet God has brought them out, and set them up now at the door of our church, to be the rule, after scripture, of this assembly and all other their proceedings. In reasoning with the Marquis about thir books, the moderator falling on the ancient orthodoxy and unity of our church, thought meet to read in Latin, and to comment in English, a fair testimony concerning it, from the preface of the Harmony of Confessions. Our next purpose that day was the bishops declination. Two answers in writ were framed to it, and both read by the clerk. They were confessed to be raw and rude, but promised to be perfected with the first conveniency; as indeed, some days thereafter, I saw two papers, one of the clerk's forming, possibly with Mr Calderwood's help, another of Mr Andrew Ramsay's, more short. Both contained solid answers to all that was material in the bishops invectives; yet were thought meet to be cast in a third better mould, which ye see in print, the answer to the bishops declination. The moderator finding that many of the bishops exceptions against our synod were used by the Remonstrants against the synod of Dort, read and expounded the answer of the British divines in that synod against the Remonstrants declination. Dr Balcanqual then craved leave to speak; but in my judgement had done better to have been quiet. The man is quick and eloquent, but seems not to be of any profound solidity. He, in many words, shewed that the case of that synod in judging of the Remonstrants and their cause was different from the case of this synod in judging of the bishops and their cause, in two respects: 1. The errors of the Remonstrants were in fundamental points, wherein their opposites could not be declined as judges; for in such things there can be no neutrality, but at the rising of such errors there must be a present siding and opposition: but the errors alledged upon the bishops are in matters of discipline, which the articles of our church makes alterable, and so no necessity there is to be on either side of such controversies. Again, the church of Holland had not bound themselves by oath and subscription to the other side, as we have done. This reply was vicious in many things; yea, in my judgement, sound or pertinent in no part of it. Much time was spent by the moderator in answering the

first part, so that the second was neglected. I thought he took too much liberty to discourse of that he professed had been his late study, if points fundamental and preter-fundamental, as the Doctor was rash to make all the articles of Arminius's errors fundamental; so I thought the moderator as uncircumspect to absolve all the Arminian errors, without a distinction of the crime of heresy. Mr D. Dalgleish, after much speech of others, in few words replied, pertinently, That the ancient synods, in the questions of Donatus and Novatus, though they had opposed the schismatics in matters preterfundamental; yet was no more casten from being judges, than these synods were, which met for condemning of heresy and errors fundamental: also that our bishops were mainly challenged for Arminianism and Popery, which the Doctor acknowledged to be fundamental errors. His Grace here wisely brought the Doctor off *salebrosities*, whence all his wits could not have delivered him with his credit. Yet since I see the Doctor has used a noble trick to clear himself of all: he has made the King, who was some hundred miles from hearing these speeches, bear witness, that the Doctor spake to a clean contrary purpose; yea some thousands of us heard him; especially that he never neither thought nor spake that any of the Arminian's errors was fundamental. We have been much mistaken with that man. We esteemed him ever a Dodracenism, and opposite to Canterbury in that case; but now we see he has made the King, in his printed manifesto, as much for the Arminians as the heart of Canterbury could wish. Shall even deanries, let be bishopricks, have the faculty, in so short a time, to metamorphose the minds of men?

The moderator required next the assembly might voice, if they found themselves the bishops judges, notwithstanding of their declinature? The Commissioner finding that the time to execute the King's last commandment shewed the contrariety of his stirring affections, joy and grief; joy that he saw the day wherein he might make good before the world, all that his master had promised by him; grief, that he could not bring this toilsome business to such an end as he heartily wished. The King's will, subscribed and signed, he made the clerk read, and desired to be registrate in the assembly-books. Ye see it in print in the proclamation; sundry things whereby was granted to our desire; but yet nothing that gave us a tolerable

tolerable security of any thing. We were not permitted to treat any thing, but to take that writ for our full and satisfactory conclusions in all things; to handle any point of the doctrines that were contained in the service-book; to examine the right or wrong of Episcopacy, Perth articles, or any part of discipline, how unjust or tyrannic soever, that was in the book of our canons and ordination; to try if the articles of Arminius, or a number of the grossest points of the Romish heresy and idolatries, which our bishops from that predomining court-faction do yet maintain, without recalling one of them, we were not permitted. General assemblies were put in the simple arbitrement of the prince, who, so far as we know, was not to indict them but at the pleasure of our ungracious bishops, as the custom has been thir thirty-six years bygone. For all this, the moderator, in a very grave, digested, and learned speech, gave thanks for the King's great favours contained in that paper; shewed at length how much we counted ourselves obliged in conscience to give the King ever, in church-matters, an inspection, a vindication, a sanction, by way of law, a compelling, by force, churchmen to their duties, a calling of councils, a chief place in them, a great respect to their voice, and so much more, as the Commissioner professed he spake as became a good Christian and dutiful subject. Yet when the moderator pressed the voicing, if we were the bishops judges? there fell a sad, grave, and sorrowful discourse. The writs of the diaries have it almost word by word; but as I cannot repeat any man's words, so I am impatient to double from all discourses. This was the Commissioner's last passage; he acted it with tears, and drew, by his speech, water from many eyes, as I think; well I wot, much from mine; for then I apprehended the certainty inevitable of these tragedies which now are in doing. Much was said of his sincere endeavours to serve God, the King, and country; of his grief, yet necessity to depart. The cause he alledged was the spoiling of the assembly, which he had obtained most free, by our most partial directions from our tables at Edinburgh, two writs whereof he produced, and caused read; also the precipitant intrusion of laick elders to have voice in assemblies, which they might readily have obtained by the King's good liking in this assembly; for he would take the voice of so many noblemen and gentlemen conducive for his service, if so

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they could have had patience to have the right of their interrupted possessions restored to them by order. This at length, by Rothes, Loudon, and others, was answered, That the papers produced were suspicious, and never came from them. Their true instructions they produced, and offered to justify: for they were only advised to proceed wisely in the election of commissioners, (but in nothing either against law or reason); for the question of elders they were ready to dispute it; that their place was according to God's word, our laws and practices; that his Grace was fully acquainted with that difficulty before the obtaining of the assembly: if the bishops, by their whisperings since, has moved the King to recal the assembly on this pretext, the cause of the posterior evils must lie upon them, as well as of all the former. After many words hither and yonder, the Commissioner shewing that he had commission to punish faulty bishops, to rectify all their abuses, to limitate that office so that it should not be able to wrong the church, and to do many more things than he would express; but now he behoved to renew all his protestations in his master's name, and in name of the lords of the clergy, That no act there should import his consent, and that nought done by the voices of the present members was lawful: also he discharged them to proceed any farther. While he was going, Lord Rothes gave to the clerk a protestation in writ, prepared for such an accident; which was read while his Grace was in departing. The reason of this departure, and our protestation against it, were both enlarged and polished to that form ye see them standing in print in the King's proclamation of December, and our protestation against it. It was the opinion of some of us, who are but short sighted, and dive no deep in the mysteries of state, that his Grace's stay some days longer had been in nothing prejudicial to his Majesty's service; yea very conducive to have kept all from these irremediable extremities all men saw by that departure to be inevitably consequent. The questions about the judges of the bishops, which his Grace took for the occasion of his rising, was brought on by his urgent pressing of reading their declinature; also a little intreaty, as I suppose, might have gotten that question delayed so long as his Grace had pleased; at least it would have given much real satisfaction, if with his
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Grace's consent we would have gotten acts formed according to the truth about the books and other things, wherein we truly agreed: and in the acts about Episcopacy, if he had brought his divines to dispute, and upholden their courage by his countenance, readily the most part might have been moved to use a greater temper than ever thereafter can be hoped for; or if in this his hopes had miscarried, he might have protested, or risen, when that occasion had been offered; but from the beginning God has permitted, for his own high ends, to this day, the bishops and their opposites so to carry the King and the country, that there can be no possible agreeance but by yielding all to the one side. For my own part, I thought that the standing of Episcopacy, in any the least degree, could not be yielded; yet the way of the removal of it, had my advice been followed, would possibly had been less irritative of the King, and no less sure for their everlasting exclusion out of our church. But it is easy for any man wantonly to discourse on the faults of deeds past, who yet being employed, could no ways have amended them in the passing. No one man I know was more willing. It kythed, by his extraordinary grief, at their miscarriage. Many days thereafter he forgot to eat his bread, and through grief fell in sickness. My heart pitied the man: beside other evils, the mishappens of the affair, which could not be by any hand so compassed as to give content to all, made him fall in such danger of his Majesty's misinterpretation, that no other means was left him to purchase a good construction of his very fidelity. But that which many count wicked, and all exceedingly miserable, the offer of his service to overthrow his country; wherein, if he prosper, Scotland will for ever curse the day she produced so unlucky a child. If in this also he prove unfortunate with fortune, that favour of his master, which to him has been ever dear, will take the wings, and leave him alone in the seas of discomfort, wherein he is like to get small pity from the breast of any man, except from that one of Christ, who uses not to desert those who are deserted of all, when out of their deep afflictions he is humbly called upon for his grace.

Before his Grace's departure, Argyle craved leave to speak, and that time we did not well understand him; but his actions since has made his somewhat ambiguous speeches plain. He shewed, that the King
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had commanded him to attend that assembly; that in all things his part had been fair; that he had never flattered the King for any of his own ends; that he took us for members of a lawful assembly, and honest countrymen; that, at the King's command, he had subscribed with the rest of council, the covenant, and in that same sense it was extant in that 1580 year, when first it was formed; that they would see by all means, in their consideration of that covenant, that they did not wrong the true sense of it. Loudon replied, and Rothes, That it was most necessary the assembly should pronounce of the sense of that covenant, since it was subscribed by fundry with divers senses; some taking it to stand not only with Episcopacy and Perth articles, but with the books, and all the posterior novations of our church; others, that it excluded some of these; others, that it excluded all. The Commissioner promised that a course should be taken, how the King's intention, in craving subscription to that covenant, and the true sense of it, according to the standing laws of the church and kingdom, should be understood.

When the Commissioner and counsellors had turned their backs upon us, the moderator harangued himself to our encouragement; and Mr David Dick, Mr Henry Pollock, Mr Andrew Cant, and Mr Andrew Ramsay, of the clergy, Loudon of the nobility, Keir of the gentry, Mr Robert Cunningham of the burghs, spake some words of encouragement; and then put it to the voicing, Whether we would adhere to the protestation against the Commissioner's departure, and remain still to the end, till all things needful were concluded, or not? All heartily promised to abide on all hazards, except some three or four Angus men, who with the Laird of Aithie departed, alledging their commission had an express clause of the King's countenancing of the assembly. Dr John Barron, commissioner for the University of St Andrew's, I think, was away before, on pretence of sickness. He had subscribed the covenant; but what farther he meant I could not learn, neither then, nor since. It was good we were all put to it presently; for if it had been delayed till the morrow, it is feared many would have slipped away. The Marquis pressed our advisement to-morrow, and closing with prayer at his departure; but in this plot, as in many other, we disappointed his wisdom: yea, here it was especially

pecially where the fruit of the wise election of the members of the assembly did kythe. Had not the most resolute noblemen and barons of the kingdom been there as commissioners, or had not the ministry been very well chosen for the purpose, very readily at this point of time we might have played the part of the assembly of Aberdeen; or, at least, such a sensible division might have arisen among us, as had marred all the fruit of our meeting. The last question that day was, If we found ourselves judges of the bishops declinature? All voiced in the affirmative. While we were in some piece of perplexity, we were singulary comforted, that in the very instant of the Marquis's departure, a very noble youth of great expectation, my Lord Erskine, craving audience of us, professed, with tears, his great grief, that against the in-born light of his own mind, he had with-holden his hand from our covenant, and person from our meetings, besought to pray to Christ for him, that his sin might be forgiven him, and intreated humbly we would now admit him to our covenant and society. We all embraced him gladly, and admired the timeousness of God's comforts and mercies towards us. At that same time thir two preachers, Mr Forbes and Mr Mackell, required to be admitted to our covenant, and were received.

8. Thursday the 29th of November we kept our eighth session. Argyle that day came back to us. The moderator earnestly intreated him, that though he was no member of the assembly, yet, for the common interest he had in the church, he would be pleased to countenance our meetings, and bear witness of the righteousness of all our proceedings; this, to all our great joy, he promised to do; and truly performed his promise. No one thing did confirm us so much as Argyle's presence; not only as he was by far the most powerful subject in our kingdom, but also at this time in good grace with the King and the Commissioner, we could not conceive but his staying was with the allowance of both, permitting him to be amongst us to keep matters in some temper, and hold us from desperate extremities. Indeed he was careful that no word did pass from any mouth prejudicial to the person or authority of the King. After a sermon of Mr Gillespie's, wherein the youth very learnedly and judiciously, as they say, handled the words, "The King's heart is in the hand of the Lord;" yet incroached too much on the King's ac-
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tions. He gave us a grave admonition to let authority alone; which the moderator seconded, and we all religiously observed so long as the assembly lasted. Yet afterwards we found, that nothing was more against the stomach both of the Commissioner and King than Argyle's stay. The letters that passed betwixt Argyle and the King shows, that this stay was the greatest ground of all the wrath his Majesty since has kythed towards him, whom before he singularly respected: also betwixt the Commissioner and Argyle there passed words of high enough disdain, little from threats and personal challenges. It has been the equity of our cause which has been the only motive to make that man, in that necessary time, to the extreme hazard of his head, and all he possesses, to encourage us openly by his assistance; also, I think, his performance of promise to Rothes and Loudon, who had a great guiding of him, and had got some assurance, as they say, of his joining us, when it should be required and needful. He produced to us a letter that day from the Earl of Wigton, and the next day from the Earls of Kinghorn and Galloway, three counsellors, shewing, that they had subscribed the Confession as it was professed in the 1580 year, even as Argyle had subscribed. Montrose likewise declared, that he had commission to show us as much in the name of Mar and Napier, other two counsellors; and it was declared to us, that Amont and Blackhall desired to be understood by us to have subscribed in the same sense. These eight counsellors refused to subscribe the act, which the night before was drawn up in the Commissioner's chamber, and proclaimed this day at the cross, discharging the assembly under the pain of treason. This division of the council, the best part of these who were present evidently siding with the assembly, increased not a little his Grace's grief and our joy. Because the bishops in their declinature had alledged, that fundry members of our assembly were lying under the censure of the church of Ireland, or our own church, the moderator desired the parties interested in this calumny to clear themselves; Mr Blair minister of Air, Mr Hamilton of Dumfries, Mr Livingston of Stranraer, Mr Macleland of Kirkcudbright. Sundry of us could have wished, that for the stopping of the mouths of our party, that these had not been chosen commissioners; yet the excellent gifts of the men would not permit the election to pass by them. Mr Blair, in name of the rest,

in a brave extempore harangue, shewed at length, that all the censures had fallen on them, were not only alone for adhering to the discipline of the church of Scotland, but most unjustly inflicted: he gave us all full satisfaction. These under the censure of our church were, Mr David Dick and Mr Samuel Rutherford, and the Laird of Earlstoun. These cleared, that what the high commission had done to them was not only for righteousness, but that their sentences were evidently null, according to the bishops unlaws.

This day were established three or four committees for preparing in private the chief and most weighty matters the assembly had to treat of. At Argyle's motion, the first thing taken to consideration was the Confession of Faith, how far it excluded or admitted the posterior novations of our church. Upon this committee were put of the ministry men not among the fittest; Mr David Lindsay, Mr Andrew Cant, Mr Henry Pollock, Mr Thomas Mitchell, Mr Walter Buchanan, Mr Thomas Wilkie, Mr Robert Henderson, Mr Da. Dick, Mr James Martin. I wish Mr Andrew Ramsay, Mr Jo. Adamson, and myself, had been with them; for here alone it was where my mind was, and yet is, grieved. I am minded at leisure, God willing, to go over again that committee's labours; and if I find it right to approve it, which yet I cannot fully do; or if I find my doubts grounded, I mind to propone them in such modest earnestness to the next general assembly, if the time be peaceable, as I am able. Of elders were chosen men fit enough, Rothes, Loudon, Balmerino, sheriff of Teviotdale, Keir, Auldbar, James Cochran, Patrick Bell, James Fletcher of Dundee. Argyle was desired to wait on this committee; which he did assiduously. Another committee was appointed for consideration of the corruptions of the books of service, canons, ordination, and high commission. On this was put some of us who had written some of these pieces; Mr Andrew Ramsay, Mr John Adamson, Mr Samuel Rutherford, Mr Edward Wright, Mr Alexander Peter, Mr William Menzies, some others, and myself. When we met, the multitude of men and speech put us in misorder: though we divided ourselves in two companies, yet I thought we could do more every man apart than all together: for myself, I could do nothing in company; only a night or two, out of my former writs, I drew that little extraction I sent you, which I

read in the face of the assembly, (when our committee was asked of their diligence), with the good liking of all. Lord Montgomery pressed that his complaint against the bishops might be heard. Upon his motion the Bishop of Galloway's libel was read: A long and tedious work; for it had not only all the general libel, but divers proper articles of his corrupt doctrine, and slips in his life, for Sabbath-breaking, and other things libelled at length. For the shortening and clearing of this, and all other their processes, there was a committee appointed, beside these of the bills before named; one minister out of each diocese; and of elders, the Earls of Eglinton and Weems, Johnston, Wedderburn, Lawers, Tarbat, Kirchill, Robert Baillie provost of Inverness, James Airth clerk of Pittenweem, Mr George Gray clerk of Haddington. Our folks had not been so diligent as need had been to have their proofs in readiness for the particular crimes they had libelled against the bishops lives; so that the committee proceeded the more slowly.

9. Friday the 30th of November was our ninth session. This day was spent in trying the late corrupt assemblies, the inbringers of our novations, and causes of our division, and now incumbent evils. Every man spake what he knew and pleased of the assemblies of Perth, St Andrew's, Glasgow, Linlithgow, Aberdeen; but for the putting of their nullity in a formal act, a committee was ordained to revise the registers, whereof Mr John Robertson of St Johnston was the chief. In all our meetings I marvel that our townsman Mr Joseph Laurie has never appeared. He was put out by St Andrew's and the high commission from Stirling. I took him long since for an excellent preacher. He now serves at St Johnston. I heard he had preached against the books; yet I never saw him in any of our conventions for thir matters. We ended the sooner that the committees might have the more time for their diligence. Such small privy meetings are most necessary; for otherwise affairs cannot be expedited: yet I see not how the inconvenience for which we abolished privy conferences shall not arise in thir committees; only the name seems to be changed.

10. Saturday the 1st of December was our tenth session. Mr David Lindsay presented to us (for he had chief charge of the bill; yea, the man's dexterity and diligence in that kind of employment was such, that to the end of the

the assembly such business lay upon him almost alone) three closed processes before the presbyteries; that of Mr David Mitchell, who this long time had delighted to grieve the whole land with the doctrine of the faction, Arminianism in all the heads, and sundry points of Popery, proved by sundry witnesses, besides his declining the assembly, which alone, according to the acts of our church, imports deposition. He came to Glasgow, at least remained some days in Hamilton with the Bishop of Ross: no man could have kept such a one in our church without serious repentance for his manifold avowed errors. The next was Dr Panther, professor of St Andrew's. I never saw the man; but his *Valaidos* makes me love him as one of the best poets I know now living. The man has a bonny spirit, some things in all sciences; but St Andrew's was far in the wrong to advance him to a divinity-profession before he had well learned the grounds of that profession or science. He was never diligent; but he had no sooner settled himself in his charge till he began to recommend the English method of study, to begin with the Popish schoolmen and fathers, and to close with Protestant Neotoreticks; a most unhappy and dangerous order! I hear in his publick notes he has deviated to the Popish justification, and in his discourses to the grossest Pelagianism in original sin, let be in other points of Arminianism. Did not the Heavens cry for a vengeance against our bishops, though we had been dumb, who did hear and see our church undermined with such instruments, of their own making and maintaining? The third was Archdean Gladstones, a monster of drunkenness and atheistical profanity. Rome Pagan would not have suffered such a beastly man to have remained a priest even to Bacchus. I hear that the man once had a very great appearance of much good parts: they say he was a trim personage of a man, had a pretty estate, was a scholar in all faculties; right eloquent, wise, and discreet, and free of all scandalous vices; in favour with the King, court, and country: but long since, having cast away the fear of God, all these gifts of body, estate, mind, has evidently left him. These processes were read and considered, but sentences delayed; because their errors ran much on Arminianism. It was thought meet to appoint some to speak at our next meeting against these errors. Mr D. Dickson and I were nominate. Very evil will I had of that task. My diligence upon the books was

not yet delivered off my hand. Arminianism is a deep, large, and intricate subject. Our time was the next meeting. Whatever I do, I would do it in earnest; so without time I can do nothing. Always there was no remeid; that night and to-morrow at night I did what ye saw, and with which the assembly was pleased on that subject.

11. Monday the 3d of December we kept our eleventh session. The first action was the appointment of preachers for this week; for every day of the week, except Saturday, there was sermon in the morning for the people in two churches, albeit the committee for that end fell whiles upon men whose sermons were but scarce satisfactory: yet by many good sermons the people were much the better; and in one thing only the worse, that thereafter they liked the worse of their own preachers. At the entry Mr David Dick made a long harangue of Arminianism. I admired the wit of the man, and his dexterous expression. He refuted all these errors in a new way of his own, as some years ago he had conceived it in a number of sermons on the new covenant. I was not called upon that day, so I was glad that my task was forgot; yet at night I studied the article of free will, which before I had not time to consider. Mr David's discourse was much, as all his things, extempore; so he could give no double of it, and his labour went away with his speech. Mr David Mitchell was deposed that day with the consent of all. The city of Edinburgh gave in their grievances against the rest of their ministers; the Dean, and his colleagues, Mr Alexander Thomson, Mr Fletcher, and Mr David Elliot; the first three as the decliners of the assembly, and practicers of the service-book; the last as obtruded on them by John Hay's authority, and as too weak for that ministry; also as one that read the liturgy in a diocesan assembly. To make the assembly the shorter, there was the day following a committee named to sit in January at Edinburgh, with the power of the general assembly, to cognosce on the causes of the ministry there, and whatever cause should by the assembly be recommended to their cognition. The love I had to poor David Elliot, who had not indeed declined the assembly, made me both plead myself, and stir up Mr Robert Meldrum and Mr Eliezer Borthwick, his friends, to deal with Rothes and others, that the committees of Edinburgh should have power at farthest but to suspend and transport him, without deposition. That day
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the Bishop of Orkney presented a letter to us by the hand of his son, shewing, that old age, sickness, and the length of the journey, were the only causes of his noncompearance; and withal, that he submitted himself to our censure. Some other of the bishops did the like; and I do verily think, that not three of the fourteen would have been unwilling to have laid their bishopricks at our feet, and, after any penance we had enjoined, returned to their old ministry, had not fear of the King's wrath, and hope of our overthrow by the King's forces, holden them back.

12. Tuesday the 4th of December, at our twelfth session, I was called by my expectation to give account of my labour. I read to them out of my blustered papers that which I sent you of Arminianism. I got thanks for it, and was fashed many days in providing copies of it to sundry. Complaints were given in against Mr William Maxwell of Dunbar, and Mr George Sydserf of Cockburnspath, for very corrupt doctrine, and tyrannous behaviour to force their parishioners to conformity. It was marvellous, how impudent all the familiars of the Bishops of Ross and Galloway were grown, in avowing partly Arminianism, and much Popery. Thir two were referred to the committee of Edinburgh, and deposed by it. They were both decliners of the assembly, their own presbytery, and appealers to the King. Upon the complaint of the provost of Dundee, and gentlemen of Angus, there was a committee nominate for the ministers of Dundee and Angus; fundry there had declined the assembly, and were ill-minded towards all our proceedings. I know none of the men. The town of St Andrew's complained, that their minister Dr Wishart had deserted them above eight months. They seemed content enough of the man's life and doctrine, if he would return, and acknowledge the assembly: howbeit malicious desertions so long a time be sufficient for deposition, yet we referred the case to farther consideration. We deposed D. Gladstones with one mouth. Mr John Robertson gave a good and diligent account of the task committed to him; many good reasons why the six last assemblies were null from the beginning. Ye may see them printed in the acts. Upon this we voiced with one consent the nullity of these assemblies. In the voicing it fell always on Mr Alexander Carse to be first; very oft the man delivered his voice in a quick merry tale, so that he became to us almost pleasant. I was
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most glad of that day's act. I thought the nullifying of these assemblies did clearly quit us of bishops and Perth articles, without the necessity of any farther scrupulous and divisive disputes: but some that think no steel bands sufficient to bind their tenets on the consciences of others, rested not with this vantage, but drove their nail to the head, as afterwards ye shall hear.

13. Wednesday, the 5th of December, the moderator, by way of clear consequent, deduced from yesterday's act of the nullity of the former assemblies, the freedom of all from the oaths of conformity taken by the bishops; the restitution of presbyteries and assemblies to their rights, which never were null, but for a time suppressed by the injustice and violence of the bishops; the validity of the admissions and depositions of ministers passed lately by presbyteries without the consent of bishops. These, and other such consequences, were not only deduced, but set down by way of acts, as ye see in print. That day, Dr Robert Hamilton of Glasford, procurator of the bishops, his process was read. Besides his open astricting of the assembly, he was found to have been absent at court, and at Edinburgh, of twelve, fifteen, eighteen weeks together from his church, upon no reason but pleas for augmentation, and suits of farther promotion. The man's gifts are every way mean. He had a good estate, and well to the fore; but being smitten by the ambition of his good-brother Dr Whiteford, tread his steps of vain lavishness and dilapidation of what he had, to seek what he did not deserve. He was found to be according to the English fashion, a profaner of the Sabbath, provoking and countenancing his parishioners at dancing and playing at the foot-ball on that day. He was, as we call it, an ordinary swearer; for the faction delighted, as I have heard, sundry of them, to adorn their speeches with the proverbs, "Before God, I protest to God, By my conscience, On my soul:" and higher asseverations, by thir phrases to clear themselves of Puritanism. He was a violent persecutor, even to excommunication, and denying of marriage and baptism of these who would not communicate with him kneeling. Many such things were libelled against him. He wrote a letter to the moderator, as to Mr Alexander Henderson minister at Leuchars, shewing, that he might not compear before an assembly discharged by the King, and was free of these things he was challenged of; or what
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of his libel was true, he was not worthy to be rebuked for it before a presbytery, let be called before a general assembly. Some days thereafter, when his witnesses had been sworn before all the assembly, and their depositions taken by the committee of the bills, which was our constant course in all processes, he was deposed by unanimous consent of us all. Yet he would remain still, by his violence, some few weeks at his church; but at last the fear of excommunication, or rather of the country rising there higher in curbing such as he was, he fled to England, with many more; where we hear he was presented to the bishoprick of Caithness, to all our indignation at the perverseness of Canterbury, who would not yet cease to provoke us, by conferring bishopricks on such infamous and unworthy men. St Andrew's libel was read, and some parts of it considered; yet we did nothing of moment, because of Argyle's absence at my Lord Blantyre's burial.

14. Thursday the 6th of December was our fourteenth session. That day many large and tedious treatises against the books were read. We got all thanks for our labours. A resolution was taken to put us all in print; but the multitude of our public affairs that daily since has come thicker and thicker on our backs, has envied us that honour. And indeed there were many things in our pamphlets might not well have borne the light, how well soever at the first reading they pleased men unacquainted with that study. Always we cleared the minds of all about the nature of the books and high commission, and encouraged them with one mouth, to make the four sharp decrees, which ye see in print, against the service-book, the book of canons and ordination, and high commission. These pieces are so vile, that none of our parties to this day have ever minted to defend them, except by these parentheses which they make the King in his proclamations cast in for their commendation. I took it ever for one of our party's greatest crimes, that they cast all burdens on the back of our sweet prince yet, and themselves have never endeavoured to satisfy us in any of their challenges, either by maintaining them in reason, or confessing their errors by ingenuous repentance.

15. Friday the 7th, the Bishop of Dunkeld sent us in writ his simple submission. Many spake for him, That he did not approve the late courses of the bishops; that he had admitted fundry ministers without the band of conformity;

conformity; that he did not deserve the censure of these who declined the assembly. Lord Lindsay that day urged vehemently the deposition of Mr George Haliburton minister of Crail, yet when we perceived that the main thing alledged against him was, but meddling with the church-box, and negligence in counting for it, and that the chief quarrel was his late transportation to Crail, (it being a great benefice), against Lord Lindsay's will, the great patron of it, we would not gratify any man's humorous spleen, but referred the trial of that process to the presbytery of St Andrew's, shewing that we thought the man's negligence in counting, being yet helped by refunding, of some moneys, needed not be so odiously exaggerated with the name of sacrilege as it was. Also a grievous libel of Arminianism was given in on Mr James Affleck, in the presbytery of Dundee. The man cleared himself to us of all, but some quirks in the second article. The gentlemen who understood not well, thought every thing here capital heresy. The man seemed capricious; in some things too simple, in others too fly. At last, after much privy conference, and publick agitation, he gave, as I think, satisfaction to all. Hereafter the bishops censures came thick upon us. We were fashed to go through with them all, the breach of all the caveats. Galloway was the first: beside common faults, he was proven to have preached Arminianism; to have had in his chamber a crucifix, and spoken for the comfortable use he found in it; to have indicted two anniversary fasts in his diocese, and acted in his synod a communion for his ministers at all his posterior synods: he was found to have deposed ministers, fined and confined gentlemen, for non-conformity, embraced excommunicated Papists, and professed more love to them than Puritans; to have contemned the exercise of prayer in his family; to have profaned the Sabbath-day, in buying horses, doing any thing of his civil affairs openly on it. Before the voicing there was some reasoning about the nature of summar excommunication. The moderator, Mr David Dickson, Mr David Dalgleish, and Mr Andrew Cant, were for the lawfulness of it. Mr Andrew Ramsay and others were against it. But the most agreed that the present excommunication of the bishops was not summar. Excommunication seemed to me so terrible a sentence, and that obstinacy, the formal cause of it, required admonition,

monition, and some delay of time after the closure of the process, that I voiced him to be deposed, but not presently excommunicated. In this I was followed by some five or six, but the rest went on to present excommunication. St Andrew's libel was, he was proven guilty, besides his common faults, of ordinary profaning of the Sabbath, carding and dicing in time of divine service, riding through the country the whole day, tippling and drinking in taverns till midnight, falsifying with his hand the acts of Aberdeen assembly, lying and flandering our old assemblies and covenant in his wicked book. It was undertaken to be proven, before a committee, near to the place where the witnesses have lived, his adultery, incest, and frequent simony. He was deposed, and ordered to be presently excommunicated. The Bishop of Brechin followed. He was proven guilty of fundry acts of most vile drunkenness; also a woman and child brought before us, that made his adultery very probable; also his using of a massy crucifix in his chamber. The man was reputed to be universally infamous for many crimes; yet such was his impudence, that it was said he was ready to have appeared before us for his justification; but was stayed by the Marquis, lest his compearance should have been for an acknowledgement of the judicatory. I remained that night in my negative voice, that no bishop should be excommunicated till they had gotten more time to declare their contempt of public admonition, from the pulpit of Edinburgh and their cathedral: yet considering better of their declinature, I found it an obstinate avowing of extreme contempt; and so to-morrow I professed my recalling of my yesterday's voice, and went with the rest in a present excommunicating of all the declining bishops.

16. Saturday the 8th of December, our prime noblemen, Argyle, Rothes, and some others, found it needful to post in to Edinburgh, for the Commissioner, with the counsellors of his side, who were said to be in hatching proclamations and declarations against us, which behoved to be protested against; also the city of Edinburgh stood in need to be supported with the presence of some of our chief nobles, against the continual terrors and allurements whereby their minds, yet weak, were oft assaulted by his Grace's emissaries. Before their departure, they were desirous to see that whereupon many days they had spent privy labours, to be ended by the assembly in publick.

blick. That which was most spoken of, as the task and intention of Argyle's committee before named, was the agreeing and making one of the two covenants that was subscribed by us, and the other by the council. I had some hopes that it had been their minds to have found out some expedients to have made a reconciliation somewhat agreeable to both parties: but as the Marquis, by the longsome labours of Balcanqual and others, ran to the one extreme of his declaration of the King's understanding of his covenant, shewing that none might subscribe, but with an express intention of maintaining of Episcopacy, as a part of our church-policy, established by our laws, and warranted by our covenant; so our committee, by the toilsome labours of the clerk, Calderwood, and others, were induced to pronounce, that all kind of Episcopacy to be so far opposed to that covenant, that the subscription of the one was ever the real abjuration of the other. How far my poor soul has been perplexed with these two irreconcilable extremes, my breast is conscious; many a sorrowful day I have had since, and am like to have more. In the mean time, I knew little what either of the two were hatching. Had I been on their secrets, I would have offered the extreme diligence of my poor endeavours, for the withdrawing of both from that rigour whence there can be no return for either without violence and disgrace, and standing to their peremptory conclusions, all agreeance in that point is made desperate. That morning, a little after eight, Lord Rothes sent for me to his lodging. I found there Mr Andrew Ramsay, sent for likewise. From us two was suspected most opposition to the future conclusion. My Lord, and the moderator with him, shewed us, that the question of Episcopacy that day was to be handled. According to my fashion, I was plain, that I thought that office necessary to be removed out of our church, for ever, was needful; for great inconveniencies it had ever brought to our church, and still was most like, limitate it as men could best: but withal I heartily wished, that in the act of removal of it, no clause might be put which might oblige us in conscience to count that for wicked and unlawful in itself, which the whole reformed churches this day, and, so far as I know, all the famous and classic divines that ever put pen to paper, either of old or late, absolved of unlawfulness. The moderator, in his answer, did not deny

deny what I alledged of the judgement of churches and divines, but said, that possibly our church had obliged herself to reject Episcopacy more straitly than any other. The time straitened us, that we might not enter in reasoning. My Lord and the moderator seemed not careful about any thing, but the firm removal of that state out of our church. As for the fashioning of the question and act, they desired us to form it as we thought meet. Mr Andrew was fully in my mind. As they directed, he set down presently into writ his mind sharply enough against the office itself, as a thing which for many causes was necessary to be removed, but being to preach to-morrow, did not that day compear, to my grief; only sent his paper to the moderator, which was publickly read as his voice. So soon as we were set in synod, Lord Weems shewed us, that our Bishop of Glasgow had sent for him, an old acquaintance, and intreated him to deal for favour towards him; telling, that he was pressed against his heart, by the Commissioner and the Bishop of Ross, to subscribe the declinature. Upon this we sent sundry to him to move him to pass from the declinature by writ, and submit himself simply to the assembly's determination. He seemed not oft far from this course; yet as his promised pension of L. 5000 Sterling had moved him to run so forwardly on any ungracious actions for keeping court-favour, so the hope of keeping his rent during life, and fear of present poverty, made him to be obstinate in his fault, and heartless refusal to submit, and patient to undergo that sentence of excommunication which for some days he seemed to abhor with much fear and trembling. Since that time he has lived very privately, mis-kent by all, and put well near to Adamson's misery. Had not peace shortly come, his wants had been extreme; and without pity from many, or great relief from any hand we know. After Weems's motion, Argyle made the next proposition, of the great expediency to clear the doubts, which were now grown frequent, about subscription of the covenant; that he and others had subscribed, at the King's command, the covenant, for doctrine and discipline, as they were understood in 1580, at the covenant's first updrawing; that some did alledge Episcopacy was a part of our discipline then avowed, others that then it was disavowed; that the assembly, the fittest judge of their controversy, would do well to put away these doubts,

by giving the true meaning of the covenant in that questioned point. This motion was thought reasonable; so for clearing the minds of all, the clerk brought forth a large scroll, as the labour of the committee, consisting of three parts. 1. Of reasons showing the necessity to clear the sense of the covenant in the 1580 year: next, A number of passages of our general assemblies, from the 1576 to the 1590, and of our book of discipline, condemning Episcopacy. 3. An answer to some objections. After the reading of all this at leisure, the question was formed about the abjuration of all kind of Episcopacy, in such terms, as I profess I did not well, in the time, understand, and thought them so cunningly intricate, that hardly could I give any answer, either *ita* or *non*. To make any publick dispute I thought it not safe, being myself alone, and fearing, above all evils, to be the occasion of any division, which was our certain wrack. The farthest I aimed at was, in voicing, to declare shortly my mind. So when all men were called to propone what doubts they had, before the voicing, I, with all the rest, was as dumb as a fish. When it came to my name, many eyes were fixed on me, expecting some opposition; but all I said was, That according to the express words of the assembly 1580 and 1581, Episcopacy was to be distinguished: Episcopacy as used and taken in the church of Scotland, I thought to be removed; yea, that it was a Popish error, against scripture and antiquity, and so then abjured: but Episcopacy *simpliciter*, such as was in the ancient church, and in our church during Knox's days, in the person of the superintendents, it was for many reasons to be removed, but not abjured in our Confession of Faith. This Argyle, and Loudon, and many, took out of my mouth, not as ill said, and nothing against their mind, who spake not of Episcopacy *simpliciter*, but in our own church, whether or not it had been condemned at the time of the covenant's first subscription. I replied no more; but if I had considered the moderator's stating of the question, as now it stands in print, I would have said, without any hesitation, as my voice, that it seemed to me to be πολυζητησις, consisting at least of three much different questions, all which required much different answers. But now I will not enter into that discourse. Ye see, in my treatise, my mind anent Episcopacy to the full, whereto yet I stand. In voicing, many, to the number of fifty and above, and some

some who curiously remarked, did avow removed Episcopacy, but said nought of their abjuration: yea fundry of prime men there yet will avow, that they never thought all Episcopacy abjured in our church, notwithstanding all were taken for abjurers and removers by the clerk; and that very justly, for answering affirmative to one part of the question, and negative to none, they ought to be taken as affirming the whole; yea not one whom the question of abjuring came over again, as it did twice thereafter, would be plain; but all were content but poor I, to be counted abjurers. If any man, for any respect, dissembled his judgement, his own heart knows, I will judge no man. That day was closed with hearty thanksgiving for so great an harmony in a matter of high consequence, where no small discrepance was feared.

17. Monday the 10th, was our seventeenth session. Here at once I was put in new troubles. The articles of Perth were put on foot: a large paper read against them, all proving them to be against our old covenant, and so abjured. The substance of this paper, as also that other of Episcopacy, ye have it in the printed act; nothing here to count of but Calderwood long ago had printed, and we were willing to have answered whenever we were challenged. I pitied much to see men take the advantage of the time to cast their own conclusions in assembly-acts, though with the extreme disgrace or danger of many of their brethren. The question was stated very cunningly, as ye may see in the act alone about the removal of these articles out of our church; yea the moderator openly professed, that they were to burden no man's conscience, to pronounce these things idolatrous or superstitious, as some esteemed them, neither did he touch the practice of any other churches, but left them to be judged by their own master. For all this, considering the reasons brought in the paper, also the words the moderator put in the question to be removed by the Confession of Faith, I presently saw the snare: and however I was resolved to dispute none, yet before the voicing I did complain of the question's stating, That to ask if Perth articles were to be removed according to our Confession, which was conceived by way of oath and covenant, was all one, as if to ask if they were truly abjured before, and all who had defended them since, were truly perjured; which was a very hard matter for many to grant. The moderator, a
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most grave and wise man, yet naturally somewhat terned, took me up a little accurately, shewing I might draw the question so strait as I pleased, yet he had not stated it so: however give my voice. When it came to me, I said no more; for at once I was found no mistaker; for Mr Alexander Carse, and after him almost all, answered the question, abjured, and removed; to whom no man was noted opposite but myself: for here I saw no place for distinction as before in Episcopacy; and so, without any hesitation, I voiced to be removed now, but never before abjured. I was very loth to make any jar in the synod's sweet harmony, yet I behoved to follow the freedom of my mind; whereof I have not yet repented, and for the which I have yet been taxed of none, but my ingenuity by the chief opposites more commended than the dissimulation of some others, who by their privy discourses oft since gives occasion to think the papers they then had read, had not drawn their minds so fully from their old persuasion, publickly very oft preached, as to confess their error; yea perjury, at least, their open and avowed, and long continued violation of the nation's oath and covenant.

That day there was a worthy motion made by that learned and noble gentleman Auldbar, That as we had removed many abuses and corruptions, so it were good to make positive conclusions for good order and discipline in time coming. Presently there was a committee ordained to sit in Lord Balmerino's chamber, for receiving overtures of all kinds from all who were pleased to propone, and drawing them to short heads, to be proponed to the synod, and enacted, if they were found expedient. I gave in overtures. Many gave in both by word and writ; but with all the committee took a very good course. They searched in our old assemblies, if any act had been made for these things we now required. They found, that for the most part good provisions had been made; so that it was needless to make any of new. Their old acts were, after some days, read publickly, and for the most approved to be insert in this assembly, as renewed to their old life and strength, whereof oblivion and desuetude had long spoiled them. This day we put sundry of the bishops through our hands. Edinburgh, beside common faults of breaking the caveats, was proven to have been a professor of all the late novations, an urger of the liturgy, a refuser

to admit any to the ministry who would not first take the order of a preaching deacon, a bower to the altar, a wearer of the rotchet, a consecrator of churches, a domineer over presbyters, a licenser of marriages without bans, to the great hurt of sundry, a countenancer of corrupt doctrine preached in Edinburgh, an elevater of the elements at consecration, a defender of ubiquity in his book, p. 142. He has there, ye may see, somewhat favouring of that way; which I marvelled oft was not remarked by his opposites; for these passages stood twenty years untouched by any that I heard of, till I pointed at them to our presbytery about a year ago. The man was conceived to be worldly of late. A little before our uproar for the liturgy, I had occasion to see him, and to be witness to his ordination in the chapel of a presbyter. I liked much the worse ever thereafter both of him and that service. I never saw a more graceless order, than he from his book, and these ministers about him, who could act these plays best, used. I saw the man idly bitter, and made no bonds of cursing and swearing. He professed his neglect of lecture; and in that I found him above all expectation poor. My estimation of that man before sight was great, but after just naught. We pronounced him to be deposed and excommunicate. —

The next that came to be sentenced was Aberdeen. His proper faults were great scandals of frequent simony; that though he was removed from the chapel-royal to Aberdeen, as one who did not favour well enough Canterbury's new ways, yet he had been found as forward as any to press the canons and liturgy; that he suspended ministers for fasting on Sundays; that he enacted in his synod, without voicing, publick fastings to be kept on Wednesdays only, consecrating the chapel of an infamous woman, the Lady Wardhouse; stayed at his pleasure processes against Papists and incestuous persons. He had not subscribed the declinature, as was thought, for lack of no good will, but only through distance of place the writ could not in time be conveyed to him. That defect in his process was supplied by the moderator, with a discourse of his singularly malicious apostasy, that he had been a man by appearance but too zealous against bishops, and all their course; so that his vehemency, beyond the grounds of any reason, he knew offended his wise and learned neighbour Mr Patrick Simpson. We decreed him to be excommunicated.

municated. Ross followed. His process was no ways perfect. The long legend of his erroneous doctrines was clean omitted. It was committed to Durie to search for witnesses of a number of errors, which all knew he gloried to preach even in Edinburgh; but Durie's information came not in time: however it was proven, that two years ago he was a public reader in his own house and cathedral of the English liturgy; that he was a bower at the altar, a wearer of the cope and rotchet, a deposer of godly ministers, and an admitter of fornicators, a companion with Papists, an usual carder on Sunday; yea, instead of going to thanksgiving on a communion-day, that he called for cards to play, had often given absolution, consecrate deacons, robbed his vassals of 40,000 merks, kept fasts ilk Friday, journeyed usually on Sunday, had been a chief decliner of the assembly, and a prime instrument of all the troubles both of church and state. Of his excommunication no man made question. Mr James Forsyth bare up the bishops train that day. His bill carried sundry foul-like faults, whereof they say he might have cleared himself for the most part; but it was his humour to be a decliner of the assembly, and for no request of friends would pass therefrom. He was accused of reading an inhibition for the teinds against his people on the first communion-day at the table, and betwixt sermon and celebration, for teaching the lawfulness of the bowing at the name of Jesus; that our covenant was seditious, treasonable, Jesuitic; that who kneeled not got no good at the communion. He gave money at his entry for his place, and struck a beggar on the Sabbath-day. A number of such things were libelled, and urged hotly against him. The moderator, and others, for his sister's sake, had a great mind to have delayed him; but no man speaking for him, he was deposed. I repented of my silence; but the reason of it was, both my lothness to be heard ofter in one day to contradict the whole synod, as also my fear and suspicion of farther ills in the youth than yet was spoken of: for lately having been at his house, with other his most respectful friends, to give him our best advice; not only with high disdain did he reject all our counsels, but fell at every pass bitterly to defend all that was in our books; yea, whatever we could alledge, that the Canterburian faction had printed of Arminianism and Popery, he either defended it, or slighted as much as any I ever yet spake with. This sudden

sudden change in the youth, who, for all his love to the Guyfes in England, yet had I known ever before to be passionately against all Arminianism and doctrinal innovations, stopped my mouth, that neither then nor since durst I deal for him till I was more assured of his orthodoxy. I found that his great companions, Mr John Rae and Mr Patrick Maxwell, that same way inclined, to my great grief; yea, the ill reward I have gotten for my diligence in obtaining favour to Mr Ja. Corbet, one of that fraternity, and, as I thought, the far most modest among them, makes me the less grieved for my silence; for that man having gone to Ireland, has printed a most poor and short, but one of the most tenacious and bitter pamphlets, against us all, that could come from the hand of our most furious and enraged enemy.

18. On Tuesday the 11th of December was our eighteenth session. Orkney's process came first before us. He was a curler on the ice on the Sabbath-day; a setter of tacks to his sons and good sons, to the prejudice of the church; he oversaw adultery, slighted charming, neglected preaching, and doing any good there; held portions of ministers stipends for building his cathedral: yet for his dislike of thir late novations, and letter of submission to the synod, he was only deposed, and ordained, under the pain of excommunication, to give tokens of repentance against such a day. Murray had all the ordinary faults of a bishop; besides his boldness to be the first who put on his sleeves in December, made many urge his excommunication; but because he was not formally summoned, the moderator, with some piece of violence, kept him from that sentence; and when some objected publickly, he assured he had no reason, for of all the bishops, he had been to him most injurious. I assented the more willingly to the moderator's lenity in this, hoping to have obtained to poor Glasgow the like favour; which he instantly craved, but all in vain. A fourteen days ago Mr Henry Pollock excommunicated Murray, and that, as I think, in the great church, to perform, as he said, the man's own prophecy, who said in that place, he would yet be more vile to please the King. There was objected against him, but, as I suspect, not sufficiently proven, his countenancing of a dance of naked people in his own house, and of women going barefooted in pilgrimage not far from his dwelling. Glasgow's dittay was, beside common faults, in acting with his own hands,

in his provincial synods, the practice of the book of canons; the urging, under pain of horning, the practice of the service-book; the exacting from all the ministry of his diocese 20 shilling of the chalders of victual for his charges at court; the denying to the ministry of Glasgow his own feus, and wronging them in their stipend; the felling of commissariots; that he was a grievous oppressor of his vassals, discharged all expectants to preach till they had subscribed idle oaths of his own invention. He was deposed, and ordained to be excommunicated, except he prevented the sentence by satisfaction. Argyle came next to hand. He seemed as worthy of censure as any. In his small time he had shown good-will to go the worst ways of the faction; far contrary to the opinion that all men had of his orthodoxy and honesty. He was an urger of the wicked oath on intrants, an obtruder of the liturgy on them, an oppressor of his vassals, a preacher of Arminianism, a profaner of the Sabbath, and beginner to do all that Canterbury could have wished. If a bishoprick be so unhappy an enchantment, let it never more come in my good friend's hand. Against Isles nothing was libelled but the breach of the caveats; yet both were sentenced with present deposition and excommunication against such a day, without tokens of repentance.

There was joined for convoy that day to the bishops some ministers. Our old comrade Mr John Macmath received a part of the fruit of his too great familiarity with them, with Messrs. Sydserf, Maxwell, and Monteith. His process before the presbytery was produced; where it was proven, that he had taught all Arminianism; also of prayer for the dead, invocation of saints, Christ's local descent into hell, damnation of children without baptism, regeneration *ex opere operato* by baptism, his obligation to say mass if K. Charles commanded, his disdain to come near the presbytery. For this and the like the presbytery's sentence of deposition was ratified by us. Mr Francis Harvy, for his erecting of an altar with rails at his own hand, for his drinking and carding on Sunday, his marrying without proclamation our Bishop's son with Blantyre's daughter, was referred to the committee at Edinburgh; who, I think, deposed him. A process of adultery against Mr Francis was referred to the presbytery. But of all our monstrous fellows, Mr Thomas Foster at Melrofs was the first, composed of contraries, superstition, and

and profanity. He was accused of avowing, that said service was better than preaching, that preaching was no part of God's essential worship, that all prayers should be read out of books. He made his altar and rails himself, stood within, and reached the elements to those who kneeled without. He avowed Christ's presence there; but whether sacramentally, or by way of consubstantiation or transubstantiation, he wist not; but thought it a curiosity to dispute it. He maintained Christ's universal redemption, and all that was in our service-book was good. Yet he used to sit at preaching and prayer, baptize in his own house, made a way through the church for his kine and sheep, made a waggon of the old communion-table to lead his peats in; that to make the Sabbath a moral precept was to Judaize; that it was lawful to work on it; he caused lead his corns on it; that our Confession of Faith was faithless, only an abjuration of better things than those we swore to; he kept no thanksgiving after communion; affirmed our reformers to have brought more damage to the church in one age, than the Pope and his faction had done in 1000 years. This monster was justly deposed. We were brought to this point, that a man might have done what he would, without possibility of restraint, if he had been fully Episcopal. But the Lord be blessed, who has looked on our oppression, and has made the bishops wickedness a remeid for itself, and a potion to bring a clear purgation of our whole church.

19. Wednesday the 12th was our nineteenth session. Here we ended our toilsome labour of the bishops and processes. The last two were Dunkeld and Caithness. Both had simply submitted themselves to the synod, and requested to be continued in the office of the ministry. Their submission obtained favour; otherwise there was truly alledged against them the common faults, and as foul pranks of simony and avarice as the former. There fell in here long disputes and speculations, which I did not understand, of the necessity to depose every man *simpliciter* from the office of the ministry, who had not a place, or was to be transported for his fault from a place. Dunkeld was continued in his ministry at Semidores, on the performance of his promised satisfaction; and Caithness was to be re-admitted minister to any place he could purchase on the same condition, Mr James Cunningham, weary of his patron Lord Dumfries's injuries, and not a-

ble to undergo his wonted labours in his spacious parish, required liberty to transport where he might have the occasion. This was granted him; but to his small profit. It was thought he was furthered to this motion, by his hopes to obtain the more large parish, but more profitable, of Paisley or Hamilton: and readily he might have been made welcome to either; but his too evident desire to be at them, and from his own people, has made his own to disgust him, and these to have no great feast for him. The same was the imprudence of another right wife brother, Mr D. Dalgleish: his seeking of the assembly's liberty to transport, has laid on him a necessity to bide still greater than he had before; for Paisley, and other places whereat he aimed, tried in the assembly some qualities, mixed with the man's learning, and excellent faculty, both of preaching and reasoning off hand, for which they were altogether unwilling to have him their minister; so true it is in all suitors, *Sequentem fugimus, fugientem sequimur*. This last I was like to have found, had not God given me some good from my former bitterness. I was like, fore against my stomach, to have been drawn to Edinburgh; and my noble patron's credit was not able to shelter me from their violence. But, behold! so soon as my voice about Episcopacy and Perth articles came to their ears, I have become a sour plum, a hatcher of some heresy in my breast, for which they will taste me no more: yea, if I be yet troubled to go to places for which I have no capacity, as I am like to be, this is my targe, and main hope, to bruik still my present happiness, that a man who cannot assent to the church's chief acts, may not be put in an eminent place. I live now by favour and mercy in private. My toleration in a more publick view were dangerous for the publick safety. Ye see *aliquisque mala fuit usus in illo*. The fears we had of the Marquis's victualling of Edinburgh castle, made us desire to see the assembly at a short end; so, without farther delay, we decreed to pronounce the sentence of the bishops deposition and excommunication to-morrow after sermon by the moderator, in the same church. Evil will had he to undertake preaching on so short advertisement: yet there was no remeid; all laid it on him.

20. Thursday the 13th was our twentieth session. But before noon, to a great multitude, the moderator had a good and learned sermon, on Psal. cx. 1. "The Lord
" said

“ said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand until I
“ make thine enemies thy footstool.” Thereafter, in a
very dreadful and grave manner, he pronounced the sen-
tence, as ye have them in print. My heart was filled with
admiration of the power and justice of God, who can
bring down the highest, and pour shame on them even in
this world, suddenly, by a means all utterly unexpected,
who will sin against him pronely with an uplifted hand;
and withal, I heartily pitied these who were excommuni-
cated, remembering the great gifts of some, and eminent
places of all; whence their ambition and avarice had pull-
ed them down to the dunghill of contempt. We have
many arguments daily to work out our salvation with fear
and trembling, to be very lowly, and to desire to pass o-
ver our life in obscurity, that so we may eschew many
snares of the devil, and occasions of shameful ruin.

I forgot Dumblane's process. Though he did not sub-
scribe the declinature, neither was personally summoned,
having fled to England; yet was he excommunicated, as
one who had been a special instrument of all our mischiefs,
having corrupted with Arminianism divers with his dis-
courses and lectures in St Andrew's, whose errors and
perversefness kythes this day in all the nooks of the king-
dom, having been a special penner, practiser, urger of our
books, and all novations. What drunkenness, swearing,
or other crimes were libelled, I do not remember. Mr
William Annan's process came in this day. I pitied him
much. The man, in my mind, had exceeding great gifts;
but profaneness, and a resolute opposition to all things
he counted Puritanism, spoiled all. His dittay was, That
in a common head, *De invocatione sanctorum*, he had main-
tained saints days; he had preached in a synod a defence
of our liturgy, with many invectives against conceived
prayers; he was frequently drunk, and an ordinary swear-
er; that he deserted his flock above eight months. He
was by all deposed. It was strange to see that man's un-
happiness: he subscribed our covenant; his people, and
we all, had he been constant, were ready to have done
him much pleasure. After his retreating, he fell so be-
numbed, that he has ever since, so far as I can hear, been
near to an irresolute fatuity in all his actions, far from all
his old vivacity. Mr Thomas Mackenzie, archdean of
Ross, was also deposed for many foul crimes. D. Scrim-
geor, my old comrade, had been suspended by the pres-
bytery

bytery for reading the service, pressing conformity, preaching too grossly the necessity of baptism, fornication since his ministry, drunkenness, playing at cards on Sunday. He gave in an humble confession and supplication to the assembly. We all pitied him, and the moderator, his neighbour, was his singular friend: yet Newton, Rothes's uncle, was exceeding peremptor to have him deposed; for he saw no possibility to be quit of him; for without a present *terminus ad quem*, the synod gave no actual transportation; and so a man who found not a present place behoved to be deposed, for we would hear of no minister without a place. Yet at last Newton was contented to refer his deposition to the presbytery. D. Hamilton's process was closed that day, and he deposed with one voice.

21. Friday the 14th was our twenty-first session. It was spent on things more private. A new commissioner from Caithness was received: upon his regret for sake of expences in so far a way, an act was made for supplying the commissioner's charges. Wigton, according to his promise to Montrose, compeared, and shewed his mind in subscribing the covenant in the council, and promised constancy in the present doctrine and discipline. One Sheppard, a minister about Dundee, came in that day, as the other one Pollock minister at Dunse, confessing their fault and ignorance in subscribing the bishops declination, and intreated they might get leave to put out their own names. It was granted them, on assurance of their publick repentance for this fault. The commissioners of Edinburgh and Dundee protested, that this favour might be no preparative for their ministers. St Andrew's complaint against D. Wilhart, who had deserted them for many months, was heard. Their supplication also, that they might have Mr Alexander Henderson for their minister. Here Edinburgh protested, that he was their elected minister. The contest betwixt Edinburgh and St Andrew's was great for two or three days. The man himself was very unwilling to remove any where; yet since there was no possibility of staying where he was, he inclined much rather to St Andrew's than Edinburgh. At last, after much contest, some few more voices carried him to Edinburgh. Mr Robert Hamilton's process of Lefmahego was produced by their presbytery, and his answers to it, wherein he answered satisfactorily almost to all: but Mr William Livingston's spleen against him was great; and he had it not for nought. The assembly de-
fired

fired to hear him. He came within a day or two. They putting him to passing from the declinature, and subscribing the covenant, I was set to confer with him. He seemed to draw near us; yet ere he would come clean over, he would see the event. He spake so to the assembly, that they gave him time to advise till the committee. When that came, he did, as I suspected, compear: however, they deposed him. Yet such was his headiness, that he would misregard their sentence, as before he had the presbytery's, and, notwithstanding, preach on still, till the fields grew a little fouler; when he fled to England, with others. His neighbour, Mr John Lindsay of Carluke, being overshot in debt, had long ago fled to Ireland, and so deserted his flock: his place was declared vacant. Mr Nairn's also of Carmichael, for he was overtaken with an incurable frenzy. Mr J. Lindsay of Carstairs was deposed in our next synodal assembly at Glasgow; so that that faction which had holden Lanerk presbytery thir years bygone in continual vexation, was clean defeat. Some part of the printed overtures this day were agreed on.

22. Saturday the 15th, order was taken, as ye seen in print, for provincial synods. The persons and times named for the committee of Edinburgh, St Andrew's, Dundee, Irvine, Jedburgh, Forres, Kirkcudbright. Dr Panther's process referred to the committee of St Andrew's: the provision of his place, as of all places of the King's presentations, the assembly were not to meddle into them till afterwards. Mr John Lundie, professor of Humanity, gave in a supplication for a visitation of the Old college of Aberdeen, that whileas the parliament 1597, and assembly preceding, had granted them power to rectify their old foundation; yet their bishop had destroyed that new rectification, and urged on them for consuming their rents, chantries, prebendaries, professions of the Canon law, according to their old Popish foundation, by virtue of his place of Chancellor. Lord Balmerino protested, for his interest, That Bishop Elphinston's first foundation should not be altered: when Lundie, the University's commissioner, replied, That they required no other alteration than of Popish offices opposed to the Reformed religion, which their bishop of new had posed on them. Both Balmerino and all consented to that petitioned visitation. Some contests there was betwixt Skelmorly and Mr Thomas Muir minister of Cumrey,

Cumrey, Mr Patrick Stuart and sheriff of Bute, which were referred to our committee at Irvine.

23. Monday the 17th was our twenty-third session. Many things this day went through hands, as indeed in this longsome assembly, no day passed without dispatch of many businesses. I was drawn out, at the beginning of the assembly, by Mr Robert Wilkie, to confer with Lesmahago. This was by God's providence: for the first thing done that day was the reading of the former acts in form, and craving of assent to them as they stood. If I had been within, I could not but have repeated my contradiction to the acts of Episcopacy and Perth articles, to no purpose, but my own trouble. Also the good old acts were read, as the committee had put them in form, and approved; but the pity is, that our fears and affairs since has been so many, that we have had no leisure to think of their execution. The town of Dundee gave in a supplication for the parson of Belhelvy to be their minister, and Mr John Bell elder for the transportation of Mr David Dickson to be his helper. The town of Edinburgh protested, That their privilege to choose of all the ministry whom they would, should not by such supplications be infringed. The matter of Mr David was much to sit, who had gotten in all this affair much fasthrie by the town of Glasgow's backwardness. The main cause of this was ascribed to the disposition of their clergy. The best, yea the only remeid we knew of, was placing Mr David among them: though no place was vacant, yet there were private well-wishers, who obliged themselves for a stipend to him till a place should vaikie. Lord Eglinton was exceeding averse to his transportation. I, for our presbytery, who was not acquaint with the motion, spake against it, and prepared their reasons to give in to the assembly; but there was a committee ordained to hear the parties, Argyle, Montrose, and others, to whom, by tongue, I delivered the substance of these reasons. Lord Eglinton also shewed, with passion, his sense of his own damage in that man's transportation. By this means the motion was crushed: yet the great appearance that Edinburgh has to spoil us of him, and the great need Glasgow and that part of the country has of his labours, has made both him and us somewhat more inclinable to his transportation to Glasgow, than we were at that time. The spleen of many against the principal in the assembly

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was great, for many passages of his carriage in this affair, especially the last two; his subscribing that which we affirmed, and he denied, to be a protestation against elders, and so our assembly, consisting of them, and ministers elected by their voicers; also his deserting the assembly ever since the Commissioner's departure, upon pretence that his commission being once cast, because it was four, the electors would not meet again to give him, or any other, a new commission. Every other day some one or other, nobleman, gentleman, or minister, was calling that Dr Strang should be summoned; but by the diligence of his good friends it was shifted, and at last by this means quite put by. We decreed a visitation of the college, by Argyle, Eglinton, Montrose, Loudon, Blair, Keir, Provost of Glasgow, Stirling, Irvine, Mr James Bonner, Mr Robert Blair, Mr David Dick, Mr James Sharp, Mr George Young, myself, and some others, to the which we would have all matters concerning that university reserved. This visitation to be kept at Argyle's advertisement. This was a terrible wand above their heads a long time. Divers of them feared deposition; but the most of us who were on it were their good friends, and had power with the rest. We had no other intention but to admonish them to do duty; albeit we had power to go much farther, and withal, by their own consent, to have established a professor of divinity among them, for now they had means enough, for one Rutherford was named; but they and we both intended Mr D. Dickson: yet other great affairs has taken all their time, and their thoughts are cast by till our state be settled. There was a list taken up of ministers deposed for conformity, and expectants kept out for that cause, that of these regard might be had in the first place; also a roll was made of all able expectants, that we might know who were to be had for the multitude of places that shortly were like to vaie.

24. Tuesday the 18th, the places were appointed for receiving penitent bishops. There was much advisement about order taking with Papists excommunicated; yet apprehension of them for prison, as law provided, was at this time not thought expedient, lest it should give occasion to their desperate banding. Other printed overtures were agreed on. That frequent grievance of Edinburgh and Glasgow's market on Monday, to be unavoidable

profanation of the Sabbath, were drawn near a good point; for, as I thought, Edinburgh commissioner said, that they obtained the King's leave to change that market-day, which shortly they minded to do: yet it is not done. Dr Guild was commended for his pains in helping much to put down the Sunday's fishing in the north; yet the moderator was scrupulous to make a new act for the simple discharging of it: but when Mr John Robertson, who, among us all, was more skilled in our assembly-acts, had found out an old act of the assembly at Holyroodhouse, anno 1602, for abolishing simply all sorts of fishing and milling on Sunday, he applauded gladly to the renewing of it. Mr James Affleck, after all the dealing of Rutherford and others with him, for his full purgation of Arminianism, gave us his mind in a written theses, which made him more suspicious than ever. When we posed him, if he would subscribe the acts of the synod of Dort, he said he never had seen them. We referred him to the committee of Dundee, ordaining him to subscribe the synod of Dort's acts in these questions, or to be deposed. Yet he offered willingly to subscribe our covenant, with the assembly's declaration. The Marquis's declaration having come some few days before to the assembly's hands, there was a committee appointed for consideration of it, which presented this day their labours to us, showing the impossibility to agree the assembly's declaration with the Commissioner's; for indeed they stood in terms extremely opposite; the one declaring that by the covenant, Episcopacy and Perth articles were sworn to be defended, the other that by that covenant both were abjured.

25. Wednesday the 19th was the twenty-fifth session. In it a number of supplications for ministers to transport, and of people to have ministers transported to them; but not one of these required transportation. Mr Andrew Cant was too easily (we thought) induced to be transported from Pitligo to Newbottle, as also Mr James Sharp and Mr John Hamilton, to show their obedience, at the parishioners desire, to the assembly, to be set in Paisley, after Mr Robert Douglas, Mr James Hamilton, and I, peremptorily had refused. I forgot my cousin the minister of Paisley's process. He was the first minister we deposed. There was a number of ugly doctrines laid to his charge. I held off his sentence for some days; for I found him, after his return from the court of England,

a much dejected man, and willing to clear himself of many things laid to his charge; to confess his errors, and to be directed by the assembly for all time to come, on condition he might bruik his place. But when no assurance could be made of his continuance in Paisley, in regard of the parishioners great, and universal, and most just dislike; he compeared not: so sentence went against him in all was alledged. He has lurked since; and carried himself far more cannily than any of that side; yet without any remorse for any error, as if in any doctrine he had not truly sinned. There fell, in this day, a most pitiful contest. The town of St Andrew's supplicate for Mr Robert Blair to be their minister. The town of Air, with tears, deprecated that oppression. Mr Robert himself most earnestly opposed it; for beside the great burden would fall on him in that town, and the fatal unhappiness of that ministry, he was as far engaged in affection with Air, by the success of his ministry, and the largeness of their charities, as any minister could be. Yet St Andrew's earnestness, and the noblemen of Fife their importunity, the publick good in providing that seminary-town with a good man, militated much against Provost John Stuart's tears and Mr Robert's prayers. It was referred to a committee that night, in my chamber. Cassils, Lindsay, the moderator, and a number of other noblemen and ministers. However, my heart pitied much the case; and, if it went through, it was a most dangerous preparative to rent any man from the flock his soul was bound to, and others to be fastened to the unhappy people of our great towns: yet I could not but testify my old experience of Mr Blair's great dexterity; yea greater than any man I know living, to insinuate the fear of God in the hearts of young scholars. This my testimony, out of experience, furthered much, both that night in the committee, and to-morrow in the assembly, his transportation. It went hardly; for the pitiful complaints of John Stuart, craving at least a delay till Air might be acquainted with this motion, and prepared to give in their reasons against it, moved many, yet not the half; so the same assembly pleased and grieved exceedingly that town, by taking from them at once two ministers: yet they have kept still Mr Blair, almost by force; else, how unwilling soever, he had gone away; for he makes conscience to obey the assembly in all their commandments. That day, after some reasoning,

reasoning, an act was made against the civil power of churchmen, and of their incapacity of any place in parliament; to which I heartily condescended, without any scruple: yet we appointed a number of ministers and young noblemen and barons, not commissioners for parliament, as the assembly's agents, to petition in the name of the church, a number of things, wherein I wish them good speed. A draught of a petition from the assembly to the King, was presented and approven, and to-morrow an act made for the perfection, and presenting of it. The thing that among others offended the King, as was said, in that excellently well-penned supplication, was the subscribing of it by the hand of none of our nobles, but only the moderator and the clerk: yet this was but like all the rest, a mere mistaking in our prince; for our assembly-acts are subscribed by no more hands: and these two alone are better than a thousand others; for all others are but for themselves, but these two represent all in law and reason.

26. This was our last day; and a blythe day to all, only to me in one thing sorrowful: Having foreseen yesterday, that this day the nail would be driven to the head, a ground would be laid of great disputes and needless trouble by an ordinance to subscribe needlessly the one part of our long disputes, viz. that all Episcopacy and the articles of Perth were abjured in our Confession of Faith in 1580, I would have gladly, without din, have had these evils preveened, which then I thought I foresaw. The night before the committee met in my chamber, I could get none studied that night; to-morrow, at seven, I had a meeting with Argyle and Eglinton, for a business of a dear friend; only after eight in the morning, I drew up, by way of letter to the clerk, my mind, to be communicate to the moderator and Lord Loudon. This they could not have time to consider; only, I think, for my motion's cause, Lord Loudon, in the act of subscribing the covenant, with the assembly's declaration, caused put in expressly, that these only should be required to subscribe of new, who had not done it before: yet this was but cold comfort to me, to go free myself, and others to be oppressed who were in my mind. In voicing this act, whereunto all yielded, I was ready to have dissented; which, for my good allenarly, lest I alone should so oft be found contradicting the synod, Lord Loudon perveened,

ed, by moving the clerk to pass by my name in calling the catalogue. Some parts of this passage came to Balcanqual's ears, by some of his busy fleas, who were still creeping among us; which presently he related to the King, disguised with a number of untruths: yea that unhappy man, to prove thankful to his late patron, my Lord of Canterbury, for his last great benefice, has made the King believe, upon his trust, and put in print in his own name, in a large folio of 430 pages, a number of silly fables, invented for our disgrace; which, I think, long ere now, his Majesty knows to be much otherways, and will see to his honour, in taking order with these mens infinite and continued ingratitude, who will never cease to lay on the innocent back of our prince the burden of all their crimes.

Divers other acts passed that day; the chief whereof ye have in print. Our meaning in the act of printing is, to give to our clerk the inspection alone of such treatises as concerns the church-registers. However, some words of the act sounds farther; yet I think the youth understands no more; and if he took an universal superintendency of our presses, it would soon be remedied. We chose our clerk to be advocate for the church, and Mr William Dalgleish to be our agent. We appointed our next assembly to be at Edinburgh.

In the end, the moderator acknowledged the great goodness of God and the King; thanked much the town of Glasgow, and gave them a fair commendation for their care and pains to give the assembly all contentment; also Argyle, for the comfort of his assistance from the beginning to the end. Mr John Row took up the 133d psalm, and the blessing being said, we all departed with great comfort and humble joy, casting ourself, and our poor church, in the arms of our good God.

Thir things I have drawn up for your use and my contentment at my leisure, coming from Dunce-hill; so that I hope I have defrayed that debt long ago contracted by promise, if so be thir papers come to your hands. Dispense with the evil writ; readily ye may like better my own evil hand, than the better hand of another. Thir are for yourself alone; for the putting of them abroad might work me prejudice; but I doubt nought of your discretion, else I would be loth to trust you with my greatest secrets.

Yours,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

11. *To Mr William Spang. September 28. 1639.*

Coufin,

THE supplication which we decreed in the assembly of Glasgow to be sent to the King, could hardly be got presented. However many would have ventured to have gone with it, though their heads should have gone therefor; yet, understanding of the King's wrath, and the danger there was, even in peaceable times, for any subject to play the ambassador, or capitulate with the prince, when he did not call for, or his council did not send up, which, by law, and his declared will, is appointed to be his only informer in high points of state; also hearing oft words from court of great spite against the very lives of most of our nobles, gentry, ministry, who were able to agent our business; it was resolved, that none of note or parts should go up, without greater assurance of their return than could for that time be expected; and withal a gentleman of the Marquis of Hamilton's acquaintance, Mr George Winram, undertook, on all hazards, to deliver to the Marquis the supplication; and upon his refusal, to give it to the King himself. He was no worse than his word; as, indeed, some of our fair-undertaking statesmen thereafter did prove. He went to court, shewed to the Marquis his errand. His Grace acquainted the King; who was pleased that it should be received. His Grace took it, and on his knee read it to his Majesty in the council. The best answer it got was, "When they have broken my head, they will put on my cowl." However, the gentleman staid many weeks for an answer, but received none. He did us good offices there through his letters, which were like to be fought, were full of great fears and English brags; yet divers of his most secret ones shewed, so long as he remained there, the true state of the court, which was not very terrible.

We in the mean time went on with our affairs, held the committees appointed by the assembly. Many ministers, who remained obstinate in scandals, were deposed, at Edinburgh, St Andrew's, Dundee, Irvine, and elsewhere. How justly, the reports of these committees diligence to the late general assembly at Edinburgh, did declare; who, before the King's Commissioner, all the deposed ministers
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who pleased were heard to plead, and all of them who kythed penitent for their misdemeanor were received.

The council of England, after long advisement, permitted the King, I would have said, consented to the King's desire to enter in a course of war against us. The first assurance we had of this conclusion, was the oath exacted of our nation at court, of renouncing the assembly and our band, promising also the King their full assistance, whenever he required it, against us; the next was the King's letter, published for all the shires the 26th of January, commanding all the nobles and gentry of England to attend his royal standard at York against the 1st of April, where he was to go to the border to oppose the Scots there, who were to invade England; and the third was the commission which the Marquis of Hamilton's man carried to the north for the Marquis of Huntly to be Lieutenant to the King in these parts, with great authority.

Thir alarms put us out of all doubt of our enemies intention quickly to set upon us. Our first care was, to send in a true information to England of all our purposes. We had some months before given to that nation an account in print of all our former proceedings, to their good liking: we then, in a printed sheet or two, laboured to clear ourselves of all slanders, especially of that vile calumny, of our intention to invade England, or to cast off our dutiful obedience to our prince. This piece, as was thought, was old Durie's hand, chiefly did us good service; for it satisfied so fully the hearts of that nation, that our adversaries, being extremely galled with our success, moved the King to make this pitiful declaration of the 27th of February; where we are, contrary to all reason and law, declared, in all the churches of England, the foulest traitors and rebels that ever breathed. But at once we lost nought by that most injurious dealing; for our innocency was so well remonstrated in print, by these three or four most dainty sheets of Mr Henderson's, that we, over all England, began to be much more pitied than before, and our enraged party, the bishops, to be the more detested.

Our next care was, to have all our minds cleared of the lawfulness of our defence. No man doubted more of this than myself; yea, at my subscribing of the covenant, I did not dissemble my contrary resolution; for I had drunken
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in, without examination, from Mr Cameron, in my youth, that slavish tenet, that all resistance to the supreme magistrate in any case was simply unlawful: but setting myself to diligent reading, and prayers for light in that question, which the times required peremptorily to be determined without delay, I found my doubts loosed, especially by Bilson, Grotius, Rivet, and the Doctors of Aberdeen, who were alledged to be most opposed to that tenet: being fully cleared in my own mind, as my fashion is, I held out long in my resolution. At our meeting in Edinburgh, being so desired, I gave out that sheet or two which I gave you, for which I got many thanks, of the lawfulness of our defence by arms. My Lord Cassils, who had drunken of the same fountain with me, by his obstinate refusal to join in any course tending to a forcible resistance, gave great offence to very many: nothing was more hinderful to us than that gracious man's example, withdrawing from the rest on mere conscience. When he was given over of all as desperate, I took him in hand, and left him not till at last, by God's grace, he became as frank in the defence of his country as any of his neighbours. Divers papers went then abroad upon this question, some whereof were not void of scandal, especially one of a pretty scholar, Mr Gillespie, but too rash a youth in his determinations, if I conceive him right, in many things. To help this inconvenience, it was laid on Mr Henderson, our best penman, to draw up somewhat for the common view. He did it somewhat against the hair, and more quickly than his custom is; so that it was not so satisfactory as his other writs: for this cause, though read out of many pulpits, yet he would not let it go to the press. But one of our deposed ministers would ease him of that trouble. Mr Corbet, to whom I had obtained favour in our committee at Irvine, and had moved him, under his hand, to pass from his declinature of the general assembly, and join in our covenant in all things so far as I went myself; yet, upon some spleen, as it seems, or rather rashness in some of his brethren of the presbytery of Dumbarton, he is put to the subscribing of the assembly's declaration, far beside our mind; which not being willing to do, he flees away to Ireland; and there, to shew his repentance of what I had moved him to write, he will put himself in print, in the Deputy's hand, a refutation of Mr Henderson's instructions, with so little matter, and so much spiteful venom, as no
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man would have ever conceived to have been lurking in his heart, against all our proceedings. We had thought him unworthy of a reply, and are content of our advantage, that my Lord Deputy permits to go out under his patronage that desperate doctrine of absolute submission to princes; that notwithstanding of all our laws, yet our whole estate may no more oppose the prince's deed, if he should play all the pranks of Nero, than the poorest slave at Constantinople may resist the tyranny of the Great Turk. We are also confident, that our sweet prince will not fail to do justice upon all who countenance such tenets, that strike at the root of his just and lawful sovereignty, if the times were so peaceable that parliaments could get in a deduced process, representing to his eye the state-undermining plot of that faction.

When we had done diligence to inform our neighbours of England, and make sure the courage of all our friends at home, in the third place, we took course for a real opposition to our enemies. It was debated, if any help should be sought from strangers? The farthest that was resolved was, to send over one Colvin, a gentleman of Fife, who should go by the States and Prince of Orange to the court of France, as our agent, for informing and requiring, at most, the French King and States of Holland, to intercede, by way of intreaty with our King, that he might be pleased to hear our supplications; and another, readily Meldrum, to the Queen of Sweden, by the King of Denmark, for this same end. But all this was neglected; not so much as a manifesto was ever divulged to strangers by us; wherein we were great fools, for it was much to our prejudice. Our party failed not in all languages to paint us out as desperate rebels; and so far, by their calumnies, prepossessed the minds of foreign princes, that the King of Denmark seized on our arms, and thought it meet to break off with us the laws of nations, at least of friendship; whereof he much repented, when he heard the true state of our affairs by Cochran; but avowed we had justly provoked him, by our misregard to give him information as a neighbour prince in so publick an exigence.

We were hopeful of powerful assistance from abroad if we should have required it. France would not have failed to have embraced our protection. Holland and we were but one in our cause. They had been much irritated lately by the King's assistance of the Spaniard. Den-

mark was not satisfied with many of our prince's proceedings, and was much behind with the crown of Britain since his war with the Emperor. Sweden was fully ours to have granted us all the help they could spare from Germany. But we resolved to make no use of any friendship abroad till our case was more desperate than yet we took it. We still hoped to bring off our prince by fair means, which had not been so easy if we had once brought foreign forces within the isle. We were hopeful, by the assistance of God, to make our party good by ourselves alone. The assistance of Lutherans, let be of Papists, at this time, was, to our divines, a leaning to the rotten reed of Egypt; besides our poverty to give pay to a few strangers, and our old doleful experience of their intolerable insolency where they came to fight on their own charges. Above all, a league with foreigners had made England of necessity our party; the evil in the world we most declined, and our adversaries did most aim at. The less our design was for help from abroad, our diligence was the greater to make good use of our means at home. There was established by common consent, to reside at Edinburgh constantly, a general committee of some noblemen, barons, and burgeses; also in every shire, and whiles in every presbytery, a particular committee for the bounds, to give order for all military affairs, the raising of men, provision of arms, getting of money with all diligence. To shew the wisdom and dexterity of this new committee, see two of their first orders; wherein they take so good course for our whole land as then was possible. Much help we got from good General Lesly, who sat daily with our general committees. His advice in giving orders was much followed. We intended to give him, when the time of need came, as we did, the charge of our generalissimo, with the style of *his Excellence*: but for the present he was diligent, without any charge, to call home officers of his regiment, to send for powder, muskets, pikes, cannon; wherein, from Holland, Sweden, and Germany, we were pretty well answered.

It was in that meeting of March much agitated, if it were expedient to seize on the places and persons of our country, wherein the great confidence of our enemies was placed, to work by them chiefly our ruin? It was not doubted but such pretension was most expedient for our safety; but much question there was about the lawfulness
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of beginning the course of violence. On our part it was concluded to attempt nothing till our affairs were more desperate; only order was given to levy with diligence 2000 foot in the shires besouth Tay, under Crowner Monro's command, and for their pay to take up from William Dick on the noblemens bond 200,000 merks, who should be diligently trained, that they might be a seminary of soldiers for the training of the countries whence they were lifted, and lie on the south border, to join with the country, and that against any incursion from England; but above all, that we might have men on foot to hinder the gathering to an head of any party for the King in these southland quarters. Also a meeting was appointed by Argyle, first in Perth, with the noblemen and gentlemen of the north, for advisement anent the securing of all these countries, as far as Sutherland, from any commotion among themselves, or invasion of other; thereafter in Lorn, with the Isles-men, to get security of their loyalty to our country at this so dangerous times.

That man has proven, from the beginning to this day, a notable instrument for the management of our high and difficult affair. What his part was in the assembly, I shewed you in the discourse thereof. Since that time he has laboured what lay in his wit for keeping our country in peace both at home and abroad, being provoked to it by that sharp man the Deputy of Ireland. He, in some two or three well-penned letters, justified our cause against that man's acute and subtile challenges. By his letters to the King and some of the prime courtiers, he gave a bold and true account of our assembly's proceedings. When he was called up to court by the King's letters, he excused his voyage through the necessity of his father's funerals. His faithfulness for his country, and his resolution to join in the maintenance of it, was such, that at last his servant in England was searched for his letters, and himself discharged to keep his intended meeting at Perth; yea, commanded either to come to court, to answer for his miscarriages, or to go to ward to some of his own houses in Argyle. The extreme danger, not only of our country, but of the King's affairs and person, furthered, of necessity, by his removal from the top of business, forced him to excuse his disobedience to both thir very unreasonable commands. To the meeting at Perth he invited his good-brother Huntly, as being mainly intended for securing the

peace of the north, wherein he had great interest, from the robberies of John du Gare, and James of Grant, and other such outlaws: but the Marquis excused his absence by many shifts. That man has never been to this day fast or honest in any purpose, neither in France, England, or Scotland. At the beginning of our proceedings he spake us fair; but long before that time the bishops had engaged him for their service against us. Always such course was taken at Perth with the northland gentry, that we were not much solicited for the Marquis's feud, and all that would take his part. In Lorn, Argyle took such good order with the Isles-men as might be; his danger here was greatest. Sir Donald Gorum, the Clanronald, and many others, were hatching a mischief to join with the Earl of Antrim, the chief of the Clan Donald, who was, with the King's money and authority, to come with forces from Ireland to Kintyre. Divers of these unhappy clans had no good-will to the name of Campbell, but took them for intruders upon their old possessions, and were glad to see the day, when, with the King's good-will, they might recover their ancestors patrimony from them; yea, Argyle's own brother at court was thought to be on this council: but God disappointed all their malicious designs. Matters then were growing very hot; the clouds were thickened on all quarters; our merchants and travellers every where in England and Ireland were handled as rebels, their goods seized on; the English bands were gathering fast at York, huge sums, by way of voluntary contribution, were lifted in all the parishes of England; the subsidy of the bishops and clergy was very great; our Scotsmen were dismissed from court to come home, both to strengthen the King's party among us, and, by their removal, to hinder our intelligence, which, from some in their company, was always coming to us, and to further the King's information of all we did. Huntly and Aberdeen had gotten their ship with munition from Holland; their streets were all chained, their cannon ready; our friends in that country were much threatened; ships from England with munition, and some royal ships, with Scottish experienced commanders, and more munition, were daily expected. The Papists in the south were lifting up their head; Niddisdale and Harris, with some English forces from Carlisle, were feared to have joined with the Marquis of Douglas, who might have reached out their hand

to the Marquis of Hamilton's followers. The town of Glasgow was, through the perverseness of some men, much doubted. Galloway, Dumfries, and Queensberry, the Treasurer, and Dalziel, all which were men of fair lands, were suspected of too much willingness to join. Antrim's boats were making ready on the Irish shore; Gorum, and others of the Clan Donalds, were gotten away to Ireland; the Constable of the castle of Edinburgh was sworn of new to the King; and the Marquis of Hamilton and Captain Stewart were come from court to receive the castle of Dumbarton, where the King's ships were expected, to lay up munition, and bring in a garrison, which easily might have infest all that country; the King and his forces were on their way to York; the Marquis was left at London to hasten the navy for the coasts of Lothian and Fife; in a word, all was so prepared on every quarter for our overthrow, that our bishops assured our King, and this was given out confidently over all England, that he should need little foreign forces for to master us; only let him but show himself on our borders, we should of our own accord run to confusion, or intestine force should crush his opposites with a small help, and it were but of his royal countenance afar off. Certainly our dangers were greater than we might let our people conceive; but the truth is, we lived by faith in God. We knew the goodness of our cause; we were resolved to stand by it upon all hazards whatsoever; we knew the worst, a glorious death for the cause of God and our dear country.

Always we resolved no longer to be idle. In all the land we appointed noblemen and gentlemen for commanders; divided so many as had been officers abroad among the shires; put all our men who could bear arms to frequent drilling; had frequent humiliations before God, both publick and private, in whom was our only trust. Every one, man and woman, encouraged their neighbours. We took notice, at Edinburgh, of the names, disposition, forces, of all who joined not with us in covenant. Appointed, that in one day the castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and all the chief adversaries, should be assayed; that, with diligence, Montrose, with the forces of Fife, Angus, Perth, Merns, with the advice of Lesly, and sundry of his officers, should go and take order with Huntly and Aberdeen; that Argyle should set strong guards on his coasts; that Leith should be fortified. It pleased

pleased God, in all this, to give us extraordinary success. Lesly, in an afternoon, went up quietly with the noblemen to the castle-gate of Edinburgh, caused the town-companies to follow them in arms under the walls, parleyed a little with the constable; who being much more unwilling to render than was expected, yea, peremptor not to render; at once, after a dry farewell, and plain upgiving, every one returning to his own company, a piltard is set to the outer gate, and is blown up; axes and hammers, and ramming-ladders are applied to the inner gate; the walls are scaled with so much the greater courage, that amazement had so seized on all the soldiers within, that none of them durst so much as draw a sword: so in half an hour that strong place is won without a stroke. So far were the keepers free of all treason or collusion, that the constable's first retreat was to the King, where yet we have not heard of any punishment inflicted on him. That night the noblemen supped in the house. Thereafter great care was had by the General and Crouner Hamilton to better much the old fortifications, and put to many new ones, at a huge expence of money. We thought it a great mercy of God, that a place of such importance was carried without any harm, either gotten or given; and took it for a happy presage of the whole affair.

Dumbarton was a strength that no force had ever won, and what stratagem to use we knew not, the captain being so vigilant a gentleman, and having so provided it with men, munition, and victuals: yet God put it in our hands most easily. The captain, and most of his soldiers, being come to the church of Dumbarton, with his wife and family, on a fasting Sunday, the Provost, John Semple, and Ardncape, after the service, caused lay hands on them all. The rest who were remaining in the house were but few; who knowing of no rescue, after a night's siege, rendered, and the house put in Argyle's hand; who had a present care of victualling and manning it sufficiently. Stirling was in the hand of our sure friend the Earl of Mar, so we touched it not. Dalkeith, in the Treasurer's fight, was taken, with the munition that so much din was of, seized on. The crown, sceptre, and sword, which (I know not how) had been transported there, were, with all reverence, brought back by our nobles to their proper place in the castle of Edinburgh.

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The noblemen and gentry in the west, Montgomery, Loudon, Fleming, Boyd, Lindfay, also were with them. Cunninghamhead, Blair, and a great number, so quietly as they could, made to Hamilton, took in the castle of Straven, took security of all the gentlemen of Clydesdale whom they suspected, went up to the castle of Douglas, where they expected nothing but blows, and a shameful retreat from a rash enterprise; for the house was strong, and they had no cannon; yet the Marquis's courage failed him, and he fled; so without din, the house was rendered, and manned by us. Johnston, in the south, had not the like success. Carlavrock was strong, and well manned; the enemy there was the greater part: yet Johnston either durst not, or had not the opportunity of executing his promised exploits: but lest this disappointment we met with there should encourage our foes, our noblemen and gentlemen went avowedly, in great numbers, to Dumfries, and seized on all the houses of our unfriends, so that all of them either joined with us in covenant, or fled to England. Carlavrock we did misken. It could not be taken without cannon, which, without time and great charges, could not have been transported from the castle of Edinburgh; it might have been rescued from Carlisle in a few hours, and our people had no commission to enterprise any thing which might engage us with the English, or carry the hazard of any blood.

Argyle set on foot some 8 or 900 well armed and able men; put some 4 or 500 on Kintyre shore, to watch on Antrim's designs; the rest on the head of Lorn, to hold the islanders and those tords birds of Lochaber in some awe; went over himself to Arran with some field-pieces, and took in, without stroke, the castle of Brodick.

So soon as Montrose did arm, fundry of Angus and the Carse gentlemen did join with us, who before had been very neutral. All these countries rose with him. He came at once with 7 or 8000 men, the most were brave, resolute, and well-armed gentlemen. Aberdeen at once trembles. Huntly in a cowardice fear leaves them. Their bishop, doctors, and most malicious of their burghesses, ship for England; the rest send to parley, but are refused; so in great fray are forced to render without condition. The discretion of that generous and noble youth was but too great. A great sum was named as a fine to that unnatural city; but all was forgiven. Our host

host marched on towards the Marquis's house. Neither was his will to flee, nor courage to fight. While we were mid-way he sent to parley; but we had no leisure for speeches. He then came out himself; and under his hand signed all we required; only he desired to be superseded the subscribing our formal covenant; but did the equivalent, acknowledged the assembly at Glasgow, and all the constitutions of it; undertook to join with us for defence of arms against all whatsoever: but some days thereafter, when his son Aboyn was a missing, and he found unwilling to give sufficient security for performing his promises, no man trusting much either his words or write, he is made to convoy Montrose and Lesly south to the castle of Edinburgh, where, for some months, he is left close prisoner.

Before the return of our army, the houses of Drum and some others of our unfriends who had fled to England, were disfurnished of arms and victuals by some of our captains. This was much cried out upon by our enemies as cruel and barbarous plunderings, but a little time did try that we had been too great fools not to disarm that country altogether, and use some severity for example among them. At that time they had no reason of complaining, but greatly to commend (as they did in words) our leaders courtesy. Leith fortifications went on speedily; above 1000 hands daily employed, plat up towards the sea, sundry perfect and strong bastions well garnished with a number of double cannon, that we feared not much any landing of ships on that quarter. The towns of Fife all along the shore, made up such sconces and fuffies, and planted such a number of ship-cannon upon batteries, that they were all in the case of a tolerable defence. Thus, in a short time, by God's extraordinary help, we cut the main sinews of our adversaries hopes; all the strength of our land came in our hands; no man among us, but those who swore they were stout friends. All otherwise disposed, both noblemen, gentlemen, and ministers, were got away to our professed enemies, and the whole country put in such an order and magnanimity, that we found sensibly, in every thing, the hand of God going before us; so all fear of human force was clean banished away, and a pregnant hope raised in the hearts of all the faithful of a happy conclusion of this divine work.

This marvellous success detracted nothing of our great
desire

desire to give, in all humility, full satisfaction to all the reasonable commandments of our gracious prince. The counsellors that remained, offered to come up all of them to his Majesty, to give him much more true information of all our proceedings than yet he had received. While that motion was but closely entertained, they laid it upon one of their number, Lord Orbiston, to go from them to represent, on all hazards, the justice and necessity of our actions. This man undertook much to speak very freely, as he had done before in the country's quarrel : but when he came to York, he got no hearing, so far as we could learn. For all this, another was sent, Lord Carmichael ; whose audience in that cause was no greater. The King's honour was now engaged ; his rage was increased by his disappointment in all his designs among us ; he was on his way, there was nothing now able to divert him from pursuing us with fire and sword but the God of heaven. Of this celestial diversion, we never despaired, hoping still that the goodness of God would never permit so gracious a prince to defile his hands in the blood of so loving subjects, for no cause at all but their opposition to that corruption and tyranny they were bringing in, under the colour of his name, both into church and state.

His Majesty finding himself miscounted of his hopes he was made to conceive of a strong party among us, would not for all this give over his enterprize ; but intended, by the increase of his forces from England and Ireland, to supply the want of the Scots. It was thought by many, that these 5 or 6000 Walloons and Irish, which the Admiral of Holland had beaten back to Dunkirk, were intended against us. Many probabilities make for this conjecture : however it be, divers among us praised God for the wrecking of that fleet, as of an army of old beaten soldiers coming upon us for our ruining. From Ireland a pretty army was expected ; but all these hopes proved but empty wind. The Deputy, we knew, a man evil enough disposed towards our nation, and a zealous Canterburian, most willing to advance all the designs of that faction ; but such was the case of that miserable country, that it might spare no number of soldiers. The malecontentments there, for the ordinar oppressions, has ever been great and dangerous ; but this man, by his cruel exactions of the last parliament, and the ejection of numbers out of
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their old possessions in the King's counties, beside the bringing of the very Spanish inquisition on our whole Scottish nation there, had so much increased the grievances of that most miserable province, that there could be no hope of men from it; neither was the means of entertainment for them, though they durst have ventured their uplifting; the very blood was drunk out of the heart-veins of that people in their late subsidies, and these sums had already for the most been sent over to England, where long ago they had gotten away to the ocean. So it was proven in the King's greatest need, all that Ireland could send him, and that too late also, was but a matter of 1500 ragged Arabians. As for the forces of England, they failed like the summer-brooks. The country was filled with their own grievances. A parliament for many years was absolutely denied to their passionate desires and evident necessities. They were now sufficiently informed, that the Scots quarrel, and their own, was but on their domineering bishop, by his emissaries, a-far, beginning these pranks on us, which at once they expected he would play on their backs if the Scots did succumb. The hearts of all might be seen averse from this unjust war. The very pages of court could not be made to hold in their daily jeerings of our fugitives in their faces, as of traitors to their country, and the only causes of all this trouble whereto they and their King were put, fore against their desire. The trained bands gave it out peremptorily, that they were not obliged to follow the King without the country; and that they were resolved not to pass beyond the bounds of their obligation. His Majesty thought it not meet to compel, or much to boast them, but rather shifted their employment. The Papists did not much stir. At the beginning their offers were great; but finding that no open liberty of conscience was to be granted to them, they held in their hand, and that by the Pope's direction, as Monsieur Coni's instructions shew. Their employment, indeed, had been very unseasonable; it had been an evidence of all our alledgences, that the Canterburian way was the plain path to Rome; it had endangered the King to have been set about with the arms of all the Protestants in England, for their own safety against the armed Papists. The courtiers, indeed, did arm themselves gallantly for the King's pleasure; but their former life in pleasure gave them little feast of this northern voyage. The country

country noblemen murmured openly at this expedition. My Lords Sey and Brooks spoke plain language, that they could not be answerable to the parliament for countenancing an expedition of foreign war, undertaken without the parliament's advice; and therefore they were resolved not to concur, lest they should fall under the danger of law: so at York, for their noble freedom, they were committed. At this the people of the south began to stir, at least so to grumble, that at once these two brave patriots were set free, and sent home.

These were the perplexities wherewith a good prince was inthorned at York, by the unhappy folly of an angry but very imprudent clergy. We knew not then the state of the English affairs; there was no intercourse betwixt us; our intelligence had much failed us. We heard of nought but all England's arming, at least of the readiness of 6 or 7000 great horse and 30,000 brave foot. However, we were nought afraid, after our experience of God's assistance, and full persuasion of the justice of our cause, though all Europe had been on our border.

This was about the time appointed for our parliament in the midst of May. We little expected the holding of it in so drumly a season; yet lest the fail should have been on our side, our commissioners made themselves ready to keep the day. There was a little before an English preacher, Dr Mousley, come down in his habit publicly, as he said, out of the zeal of his own mind, to essay, if on the acquaintance he had with Argyle, he could move us to continue the former way of our supplications, hoping that thereby the King might yet be brought off. I conferred with the man at length: he seemed to me good and simple; assured me of the truth of all my thoughts of Canterbury and his followers, and the great griefs of the English nation, who were lovers of the Protestant church or state of England, or the King's person and house. He had come down by the King and bishops knowledge and toleration: commission he alledged none. He was, for all that, courteously received of us all. He professed full contentment in all our proceedings; and promised to give the King better information of us than ever yet he had gotten. But, behold, when we are in this parley, and some hopes of peace, the Marquis appears on our coast with a strong navy, and, as we were informed,

informed, a good army of land-soldiers. This put us all aghast; from all quarters we ran in haste. We in the west had first sent out a double company, with their officers, under Captain Montgomery, who, not only for his birth, but service abroad, was made to Monro the first captain; yea, all of his companies, that of Montgomery's, from the sherriffdom of Ayr, was most commended, even publickly from the pulpits, for example in pious, obsequious, and stout courage.

Thereafter, when all were ordained to send out the fourth man, we, according to the common undervaluing which was in the country, sent out 1200 foot and horse-men, under Lord Loudon's conduct as crowner, and Mr David Dickson as minister. Renfrew had chosen Lord Montgomery their crowner. Clydesdale was somewhat suspected in their affection to the cause, especially the Marquisses of Hamilton and Douglas appearing against us, wherefore the tables there east thought meet they should not conjoin, but divided them in four; the highest parishes about Lanerk to follow Lord Fleming for their crowner; the next about Lesmahago and Evandale, Lord Loudon; those about Hamilton and Monkland, Lord Boyd; the lowest, with the town of Glasgaw, Lord Montgomery: this access to Renfrew, with divers lands of Cunningham, made up Lord Montgomery's regiment among the strongest; but the piety and military discipline of his people was commended above all the rest; yea, none did doubt but in all our camp those of the west were most praiseworthy. They came out most readily, and in the greatest numbers; they made most conscience of the cause, and their behaviour; the fear of them made others stand in awe, who else were near whiles to mutinous insolencies.

At the appearance of these ships, we received orders to come forth almost all who had arms. At this charge, Lord Eglinton, who had appointed with Cassils to wait at home to attend any invasion might be from Ireland, came away with the whole country at his back, and I as their preacher: but when we came to Edinburgh, finding Leith to be in no hazard, and the coasts of Lothian and Fife to be watched night and day, with strong guards of these countries; also little appearance of present invasion; for neither was the King's army by land come to these
numbers

numbers yet, or resolution as presently to fight, and all the Marquis had within the ships were but about 5000 land-soldiers, taken up in a violent press; finding this, we got orders to go back with the most of our people, to attend the times of greater need.

About this time Sir James Carmichael had returned, carrying with him, instead of an answer to our supplication, a most injurious proclamation, printed and published all over England in April, pardoning us for bygones, offering still the conditions proponed in the assembly at Glasgow, but making all to be traitors who rested not content with these; and disposed their lands and goods to their masters or tenants. This wise plot proved as pedantic a policy as all the former had done: not a man regarded the favour; all were more enraged with that lawless condemning and alienating of lands. The Marquis, when he came, sent out to the provost of Edinburgh a trumpeter, requiring the castle and fortifications of Leith to be put in his hand, and the proclamation to be published at the cross; which being done, he would come out, and, as the King's commissioner, keep the parliament. If they were refused, he was to execute his master's other commandments. The answer he received from the town was a dilator, till the state, which within few days was to meet, did consider of his commands. When they came, our nobles and commissioners of parliament wrote to him, reasons why they could not suffer such an illegal and tempting proclamation be read, and withal, supplicating his Grace to mediate with the King, and hearing of our supplications. There went many messages between from time to time. The opinion that men had of the Marquis was divers. The far most part took him to be a bitter and malicious enemy, coming to revenge the injuries he apprehended he had gotten at Glasgow; others, among which few I was one, thought him yet a lover of his country; that the employment was thrust upon him; that he had accepted it, with a resolution to manage it for our greatest advantage that loyalty to his prince would permit him.

It was evident he eschewed all occasion of beginning the war. He did not trouble a man on the shore with a shot. What fishers or merchants he boarded were courteously used; nothing taken from them but for present money at

a high rate. What soldiers, indeed, or munition he could intercept, was sent over to the King's camp: and this was our greatest hurt; for albeit we had got these two years a great store of arms, and many officers home, yet we were so sore displenished before, and so far out of use, that we had need of much more: and order indeed was taken for abundance, had not the Marquis's fear stopped the trade; yet some was still coming to us. His straits were greater than ours. When he came as it were to besiege, he was daily at a huge expence, as the King professed, above L. 30,000 Sterling a-month. The English bodies could not endure to be prisoned in ships; the want of air and fresh meats gave many the pox; nothing so much as water could be gotten off our coasts, so strait was the watch. Had we in time foreseen to have fortified Inchkeith and Inchcolm, as we did thereafter Inchgarvie, they could not have lain in our frith one month; yet, notwithstanding of all the comfort the air and water of these isles could furnish them, many of them died; and when they went home, the most part of all who remained traiked pitifully.

Our evilwishers gave it out, that we would not fail to keep a parliament without the King, wherein we would erect a new kind of government; but time did refute that, with all the rest of our malicious enemies fumnises. I have heard some few, by way of reasoning, speak of holding parliaments, in time of extreme danger, without the King; but the most that ever I was acquaint with had never any time for such a practice, as then it well appeared; for when the King had sent in to prorogate the parliament, after some little reasoning about the way of prorogation, all agreed, that the court being fenced at the day first appointed, it should be prorogate to any day the King did name, and that without any protestation; wherein also we made our enemies false prophets. Only, at that time, the members of the parliament, in my hearing, gave order for a very ample commission to General Lesly, of sovereign commandment over all our forces by sea and land, on horse or foot, of all our strengths, munitions, and all without any proviso but one, that he should be subject to answer to the courts ecclesiastick and civil, according to the settled laws of the kingdom; also because Belstane, who had the charge as Captain in the castle of Edinburgh, was complained on by the provost of Edinburgh,

burgh, as a man of no such authority as that place in these times required, election was made of Lord Balmerino for that charge, and his oath of fidelity taken, to the King's special offence, who, by our bishops instigation, had a particular spleen at the man; also these articles which ye see in print out of the Swedish Discipline, for the most part were then given out.

Some of Kirkaldy skippers, Crowner Hamilton also, would have been at the trying of their fire-works on the King's ships; but the poor hopes yet we had of peace would not let us begin any act of war; by the contrary, in all our preparations for defence, our open supplications was still displayed in our right hand. When the Earl of Effex a little before had come down to Berwick, with the charge of some thousand foot, we sent to him an earnest letter, that he would mediate with the King to hear our supplication, and be loth himself, who was so wise and religious a gentleman, to begin a war for the unjust ambition of bishops, which, for the undoing of both the nations, might continue to flame in the days of many generations. Such is the obsequiousness, and almost superstitious devotion of that nation towards their prince, that Effex durst not so much as open that letter, but sent it closed to the King; yet assured of a short answer, if it were the King's will to send it back to him. Always we shewed him in private the copy, wherewith he was not evil pleased. The man was thought a good patriot, not much the factious way, or far adverse to our cause; however, he was at once removed from our border, readily for fear of infection; neither did I hear either of the man or of our letter to him.

With Dr Mousley, according to his desire, we resolved likewise to send up a supplication, conceived by Mr Henderson, in terms so submissive, that some were not pleased with the strain, fearing lest the baseness of it should be imputed to our quaking for the approaching of the King's arms; yet little in it was altered; only Argyle was desired to write with him, in a stouter style, a common letter to Pembroke and Holland, and would have done the like to Arundel and Vane; but some excepted at giving so much honour to these who were reputed our malicious enemies. Divers reported better of both. Yet it was carried to hold on a general clause, that the first two should communicate their letters to whom of the council of England they

they thought meet. Of these we got no answer. We heard the man was honest, that he had reported favourably of all he had heard and seen among us; and therefore was committed, lest his reports going too far abroad, should have endeared our cause the more to that nation.

Now it was when the north, to our great danger, began to break out. Lord Aboyne, a very fine spark, kindled by a rash and profane man, Banff, Ogilvie, both malecontented at the beginning for the Marquis's cowardice, resolve yet to try their strength. When they began to gather, the master of Forbes and Lord Frazer, with a good number of gentlemen, meet to oppose them: but the diligence of the enemy was such, that they came on our party, and that with field-pieces, before they were aware. This made us to flee, and them to triumph. We were much grieved for the reported captivity of that unhappy, but yet both good and stout youth, the Master of Forbes; but though that proved false, and our skaith was found to be but little, yet we took our flight in this cause to be prodigious; so much the more as Banff made haste to take all advantages of his scarce-hoped-for victory. He ran over the country, repossessed Aberdeen, which was not unwilling to be brought back to their old friends, advertised the King of his success, and prayed for supply. The matter was of consequence. Ogilvie and the Marquis's letters were intercepted; wherein we saw the appearance of some more troubles from the north. All Huntly's friends were malecontent for their chief's captivity. Seaforth and Rae were both suspected. Murray also was not our friend. Our friends either lay farther north than to make us speedy help, or else were scattered and afraid by Forbes's defeat; we could hardly gather such an army as we had at first, the King on our borders calling for all could be spared. The Marquis held Lothian and Fife in a continual alarm, and promising to send to the coast of Angus and Merns some ships to do some harm. It was thought, that the most, if not all the land-foldiers which the Marquis had, were intended first for Huntly's service; but God disappointed that very dangerous intention, by keeping the navy some weeks longer on the English coast than was expected, even till Huntly was in hands, and all his designs broken. Yet if at this same time a considerable supply had been sent to Banff, he had wrought us much woe; but Montrose, at once, with Marischal, who be-

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fore this were avowedly joined to our side, as also Dunfermline, for our dangers joined moe to our party, and put none away; these two noble valiant youths made haste with all the friends they could gather; the town of Dundee, and Lord Kinghorn, both by his own following, and specially by my Lord Errol's vassals, to whom he was tutor, being his sister's son. This did us much help in all our northern expedition. So soon as our army appeared, Banff dissolved his forces, Aberdeen rendered, at once all was carried before us. But ere it was long, our forces likewise disbanded, as was thought, on some malecontentment, either at Montrose's too great lenity in sparing the enemies houses, or somewhat else. So while our noblemen are besieging some of the enemies castles, they see themselves so slenderly backed, they hear of the King's ships at Aberdeen; for the Marquis had sent some ships, wherein the citizens, who before had fled from Aberdeen, returned, and some noblemen with them, as Glencairn, who unhappily all this time, otherwise than his forbeers, to the losing of the hearts of all his friends, for the Marquis's pleasure, had deserted his country. Tullibardine, Linlithgow, Kinnoul, and others, were confident how soon Banff might draw together his bands, and compass us, being then so weak. Upon the sight of thir dangers, they resolved with diligence to retire, that they might return with a stronger convoy.

The wisdom of God, from the first day of this affair to this present hour, has been pleased so to dispense his favours, that with the causes of our rejoicing there was ever at once intermixed some matter of no small difficulty, whereby to sharpen our prayer, and exercise our faith to believe in the strong hand that before had often drawn us over, by ways which we, by our own forces, could never have gotten breasted. At this time we find ourselves in a greater danger than ever; our enemies on the north masters of the field, ready not only to break in like a speat on the Merns and Angus, but to fall on our backs in Lothian and Fife, while the King and the Marquis calls for our face; also the coast being in no small frays for the Irish invasion: for the estate of that country we did not then understand; only we heard that Crouner Bruce was sent about with some officers to the Earl of Antrim, who, after long disappointment, had got money to levy soldiers; that he had in readiness fundry flat-bottomed boats;

that sundry troops of the trained bands were come down to the shore; that the noblemen and gentlemen of our nation there had drawn on themselves and poor tenants a pitiful snare, a scandalous oath, wherein they swear not only the renouncing of our covenant, but sundry other things which stand against the tender consciences of many of our people. Numbers of them through this oath are like to be undone. One Frewman, an Englishman, being supplanted by a tanning fellow to curry favour with the Bishop of Derry, was apprehended, and confessed, that he had heard that knave's motion to him, without dissenting, of joining with the Scots, if a party should come over to Ireland; but withal did avow, that he had never any such resolution, let be plot, for accomplishment of any such motion. For this confession he is hanged, and quartered half-quick, after the English fashion, as a traitor. The knowledge of thir things put all the people on the west shore in a continual fray, and made them have little will to let any more men or arms be carried east to the General's camp. These also in the south were put in frays to be invaded from Carlisle. Yet neither did the King's main host stir from about the border, nor any in the ships did press to land. This made us see a dangerous policy, whereof we were more afraid than of any thing else. It was our great desire to have at once been at handystrokes, well understanding, that the ferd of our hot spirits could not long abide in edge, also that our poverty could not long permit us to keep the field together. If the ships should keep us besieged by sea, and hold us from all trade; if on our border an army of strangers should force us to lie long in camp foreanent them, till our countrymen from the north came on our backs, till the Irish on the west, and the English, with another part of our fugitives, should come on the south, we saw at once this would undo us without stroke of sword; wherefore we took us again to fasting and prayer. We commended to Montrose and Marischal the care of the north. We gave out these peremptor orders which ye have here doubled, wherein all who can bear arms are commanded in haste to come to the General's camp, where-ever it should be, with such arms as they had, and a month's provision of victual, to the end there may be granted to us a reasonable peace, or else before we perished sitting still, to go seek our enemies the prelates and Papists of England, where-ever we could find

find them. This we cleared to be no breach with England, nor an inch beyond our lawful defence; who by sea and land were hemmed in with a war worse than fire and sword.

These peremptory instructions coming to the King's camp, made many a heart there, and in all that land, to quake. They knew, that our necessities and injurious oppression made us stout as lions; they heard of the conduct of Lesly and his experienced officers; they understood their own feebleness, paucity, unjust cause, and many misorders; they heard we were intrenched, drawn towards them as near as Dunglass. At once a proclamation comes out in far other strain than the former, shewing, that the King's arms were intended merely for peace, leaving off the odious charge against us of treason and rebellion, and commanding us to hold off the King's army by ten miles; else, if we come nearer his leaguer, he would expone that disobedience for a declaration of our intention to invade the King's person, and kingdom of England; promising withal, upon the demonstration of our civil and temporal obedience, the granting of all our just supplications. This style pleased us well. It was the first blue bore that did appear in our cloudy sky. We took it for a beginning of a real change of the King's councils, then indeed having assayed to the uttermost all their policies and forces. They saw we were not to be boasted; and that before we would be roasted with a lent-fire by the hands of churchmen, who kept themselves far aback from the flame, we were resolved to make about through the reek to get a grip of some of these who had first kindled the fire, and still lent fuel to it, and try if we could cast them in the midst of it, to taste if that heat was pleasant when it came near their own shins. Finding the approaching of this danger to their own heads, without possibility of any farther delay, they were at last content to permit our gracious sovereign to give over for that time the pursuit of their quarrels. At last our gracious sovereign, seeing the vanity of all their promises, and finding it not possible for him to get their wicked designs prosecuted, without the hazarding the blood of many thousands of his best and greatest subjects in all his dominions, of his own just and meek inclination, and by the wholesome advice of all the nobility, both Scots and English, that were about him, he inclined to the ways of peace, and repented much of these

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resolutions, which were the most rash and disgraceful that ever in any age had been furnished to any prince. He had lately declared, in his manifesto, to all Europe, but to us, whom it most concerned, that unexampled manifesto, which, at Canterbury's direction, Balcanqual, Ross, and St Andrew's, had penned, was now printed in the King's name, and sent abroad, not only through all England, but over sea, as we heard, in divers languages, heaping up a rabble of the falsest calumnies that ever was put into any one discourse that I had read, to show, that we were the most desperate traitors that yet had lived, and were hypocrites, who in matters of religion had never been wronged, but had only sought pretences of religion to colour our plots for rebellion. It was good that this book was kept carefully from our hands till the treaty of peace was near closed: for as the bishops by it had engaged the King so deeply to pursue us; as there was no appearance of any redress for him without infinite disgrace; for how could he leave off to wrack, though he should die in the way, these subjects, whom they had made himself declare in print, out of his sure knowledge, to be most wicked enemies to God, to him, and to their neighbours, for their faithfulness only to God and him? What peace or capitulation could, with any honour, be made with such vile persons? So likewise this book put us to the extreme line of desperation. It shewed, that with his Majesty's allowance our party stood to the justification of the imposition of the books of service and canons, both for matter and manner; that we were condemned for censuring, even in a general assembly, these who had preached, and still avowed the preaching, of all the articles of Arminius; that our loud and continually-repeated challenges of the Cantaburian party among us, as of Papists, who, under the name of Protestant doctrine, did preach and avow, and printed, the grossest tenets of Popery, were clean passed by; that they in all their proceedings, even the most tyrannous and unjust that could be gotten done, were defended; and we, for the best and most loyal of our actions, censured for traitors in the highest degree, before all legal trial. This put us near to our wits end. Certainly it made us weep for the King's honour, which oft, by that ungrate generation, had been trampled in the dirt, but now was so pitifully puddled in the mire of disgrace, that all the blood of that faction could never be able to
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cleanse from the blot of infamy. For if these crimes, whereof they had made the prince pronounce us guilty in print, in the ears of all Europe, were true, what either folly, or injustice, or weakness, behoved it to be, to embrace us, and that without a remission, before that the sword of revenge had made an example of some for disciplining the rest? and if not true, as evidently they are now false, what intolerable rashness to make a prince put them in print under his own name alone, and that to neighbour princes, and even to the world, before once they were put so much as to a trial? Always the King and we both must put up with these extremely scandalous injuries of the prelates, as we have done many moe, till the time of their reckoning come, which we hope approaches, when, before the face, not of England alone, but of all the rest of Europe, where they have too long abused princes and nations, they shall be made give account of their full administration.

However, that proclamation was very sweet to us, for simple necessity and discretion alone, to get either religion or liberty bruiked as law, and all reason did require, had made us soldiers: so we gladly stood a-back at all the distance the King commanded. This our ready obedience being perceived, behold, our unhappy party makes a new on-set. They persuade the King to proclaim in our border, towards the former proclamation of our treason, and the offer of a pardon, and their masters lands, to these who would desert us. This was done at Dunse, with a strong convoy of English horse. The like was intended at Kelso; but there Monro, Fleming, and Erskine presenting themselves in battle-array, made Holland, with some thousand foot and horse, with their shew alone, to retire in haste in a shameful disorder. It is thought Holland's commission was to cut off all he met in opposition to him; but his soldiers that day was a great deal more nimble in their legs than arms, except their cavaliers, whose right arms were no less weary in whipping, than their heels in jading their horses. We were informed, that to repair that disgrace, Holland was commanded to return with far more forces, to execute his former commission: whereupon our General raises his camp from Dunblaw, advertises his troops at Kelso to march towards him. Both of them met together that night at Dunse, and there they sat down on the head of their fair law. We found that
advantage

advantage was made of our obedience, and a course yet again, without respect to promises, to be taken for our wrack. So we returned to our former resolution of present fighting; and sent posts athort all the country, to haste on our friends for that end. Some of the advertisement I have caused double; but the last was so peremptor, inviting to come to the burial of these who were like to be deserted, that the hyperboles of Meldrum the secretary did offend many. This our march did much affray the English camp. Dunse law was in their sight, within six or seven miles, for they lay in pavilions some two miles above Berwick, on the other side of Tweed, in a fair plain along the river. The King himself beholding us through a prospect, conjectured us to be about 16 or 18,000 men. We were indeed above twelve; but at once we were above twenty-four. We might have doubled that number, but we had none there from the one full half of Scotland; not a man beyond Tay; few from Lothian, Fife, Edinburgh, the Merse, for they were waiting on the ships, or employed in carriages: the south behoved to observe the border about Carlisle; and the west the Irish shore; albeit that was needless; for all that were either in the ships, or on the south border, or might be spared from Ireland, were called quickly to the royal standard, and when they were all together, their number was thought did not exceed in horse and foot, English, Scots, and Irish, 16,000 men, and these not of the stoutest; for it was constantly reported, that one night a false alarm being in our camp, when our drums began to beat, and our matches on the hill to shine through the darkness, there arose such a fray in the English camp, that very many betook them to their heels, expecting from us a present invasion; yea, had not our wise and valorous prince, with his General Arundel, done diligence to encourage, and to find out the groundless vanity of the fray, there had been a greater flight, than with honour could have been gotten stayed.

It would have done you good to have cast your eyes athort our brave and rich hills, as oft as I did, with greater contentment and joy, for I was there among the rest, being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shire, who came late with Lord Eglinton. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows, muskets and pikes, and to my boy a broad sword. I carried myself, as the fashion was, a sword,

sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; but I promise, for the offence of no man, except a robber in the way; for it was our part alone to pray and preach for the encouragement of our countrymen, which I did to my power most chearfully. Our hill was garnished on the top, towards the south and east, with our mounted cannon, well near to the number of forty, great and small. Our regiment lay on the sides of the hill, almost round about. The place was not ample in circle, a pretty round rising in a declivity, without steepness, to the height of a bow-shot; on the top somewhat plain; about a quarter of a mile in length, and as much in breadth, as I remember, capable of tents for 40,000 men. The crowners lay in canvas lodges, high and wide; their captains about them in lesser ones; the soldiers about all in huts of timber, covered with divot or straw. Our crowners for the most part were noblemen; Rothes, Lindsay, Sinclair, had among them two full regiments at least from Fife; Balcarras a horse-troop; Loudon, Montgomery, Erskine, Boyd, Fleming, Kirkcudbright, Dalhousie, Yester, Eglinton, Cassils, and others, either with a whole or half-regiments. Montrose's regiment was above 1500 men in the castle of Edinburgh: himself was expected; but what detained him ye shall hear at once. Argyle was sent for to the treaty of peace; for without him none would mint to treat. He came, and set up his tent in the hill; but few of his people with him. It was thought meet that he and his should lie about Stirling, in the heart of the country, to be always ready in subsidies for unexpected accidents; to be a terror to our neutralists or but masked friends; to make all, without din, march forward, lest his uncanny trewsmen should light on to call them up in their rear; always to have an eye what either the north, or the shires, or the west, or our stail-host should mister of help. It was thought the country of England was more afraid of the barbarity of his highlanders, than of any other terror. Those of the English that came to visit our camp, did gaze much with admiration upon these supple fellows, with their plaids, targes, and dirlachs. There were some companies of them under Captain Buchanan, and others in Erskine's regiment; our captains, for the most part, barons, or gentlemen of good note; our lieutenants, most of old soldiers, who had served over sea in good charges. Every company had, fleeing at the captain's tent-door, a brave new colour,

lour, stamped with the Scottish arms, and this motto, FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT, in golden letters. Our General had a brave royal tent; but it was not set up. His constant guard was some hundreds of our lawyers, musquetiers, under Durie and Hope's command, all the way standing in good arms, with locked matches, before his high gate, well apparelled. He lay at the foot of the hill, with Baillie his serjeant-major or lieutenant-general. That place was destined for Almond, in whose wisdom and valour we had but too much confidence; yet in the time of our most need, the greatness of his gravel, or the pretence of it, made him go to France to be cut. Always when he came there it was found he needed no incision, so he passed to his charge in Holland, where to us he was as dead in all our dangers.

The councils of war were kept daily in the castle; the ecclesiastick meetings in Rothes's large tent. The General, with Baillie, came nightly for the setting of the watch on their horses. Our soldiers were all lusty and full of courage; the most of them stout young plowmen; great chearfulness in the face of all: the only difficulty was, to get them dollars or two the man, for that voyage from home, and the time they entered in pay; for among our yeomen, money at any time, let be then, uses to be very scarce; but once having entered on the common pay, their sixpence a-day, they were galliard. None of our gentlemen were any thing worse of lying some weeks together in their cloaks and boots on the ground, or standing all night in arms in the greatest storm. Whiles, through storm of weather, and neglect of the commissaries, our bread would be too long a-coming, which made some of the eastland soldiers half-mutiny; but at once order being taken for our victuals from Edinburgh, East Lothian, and the country about us, we were answered better than we could have been at home. Our meanest soldiers were always served in wheat-bread, and a groat would have gotten them a lamb-leg, which was a dainty world to the most of them. There had been an extraordinary crop in that country the former year, beside abundance that was stolen away to the English camp for great prices. We would have feared no inlack for little money for some months to come. Merse and Teviotdale are the best mixt and most plentiful shires, both for grass and corn, for flesh and bread, in all our land. We were much obliged to the town of Edinburgh,

burgh for money. Mr Harry Pollock, by his sermons, moved them to shake out their purses; the garners of non-covenanters, especially of James Maxwell and Lord Winton, gave us plenty of wheat. One of our ordinances was, to seize on the rents of non-covenanters; for we thought it but reasonable, since they sided with these who put our lives and our lands for ever to sale, for the defence of our church and country, to employ for that cause, wherein their interest was as great as ours if they would be Scotsmen, a part of their rent for one year; but for all that, few of them did incur any loss by that our decree, for the peace prevented the execution.

Our soldiers grew in experience of arms, in courage, in favour daily. Every one encouraged another. The sight of the nobles, and their beloved pastors, daily raised their hearts. The good sermons and prayers, morning and evening, under the roof of heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells; the remonstrances very frequent of the goodness of their cause; of their conduct hitherto, by a hand clearly divine; also Lesly's skill, and prudence, and fortune, made them as resolute for battle as could be wished. We were feared that emulation among our nobles might have done harm, when they should be met in the field; but such was the wisdom and authority of that old, little, crooked soldier, that all, with an incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been great Solyman. Certainly the obedience of our noblemen to that man's advice was as great as their forebeers wont to be to their King's commands: yet that was the man's understanding of our Scots humours, that gave out, not only to the nobles, but to very mean gentlemen, his directions in a very homely and simple form, as if they had been but the advices of their neighbour and companion: for, as he rightly observed, a difference would be used in commanding soldiers of fortune, and of soldiers volunteers, of which kind the most part of our camp did stand. He kept daily in the castle of Dunse an honourable table for the nobles and strangers with himself, for gentlemen-waiters thereafter, at a long side-table. I had the honour, by accident, one day to be his chaplain at table, on his left hand. The fare was as became a general in time of war: not so curious by far as Arundel's to our nobles; but ye know that the English fare sumptuously, both in war and peace, are despised by all their neighbours. It

seems our General's table was on his own charge ; for, so far as yet I know, neither he, nor any noble or gentle man of considerable rent, got any thing for their charge. Well I know that Eglinton our crowner entertained all the gentlemen of note that were with him, at his own table, all the time of our abode ; and his son, Montgomery, kept with him very oft the chief officers of his regiments : for this was a voyage wherein we were glad to bestow our lives, let be our estates.

Had you lent your ear in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading scripture, ye would have been refreshed. True, there was swearing, and cursing, and brawling, in some quarters, whereat we were grieved ; but we hoped, if our camp had been a little settled, to have gotten some way for these misorders ; for all of any fashion did regret, and all promised to do their best endeavours for helping all abuses. For myself, I never found my mind in better temper than it was all that time since I came from home, till my head was again homeward ; for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service, without return. I found the favour of God shining upon me, and a sweet, meek, humble, yet strong and vehement spirit leading me all along ; but I was no sooner on my way westward, after the conclusion of the peace, than my old security returned.

It was not our General's intention to sit long at Dunse ; only till our army had grown to a considerable number : he thought meet to lie on that strength which was in the midst betwixt the two ways to Edinburgh, that if the English had moved either towards Haddington or Soutra, he might have been on their backs ; for we knew not then well either of the estate or designs of the enemy : but after we were above 20,000 men, he gave not out obscurely his purpose to approach the English camp. Their fear of this made them cast up some trenches on our side of Tweed, and work at them both on Sunday and Saturday. They had no will we should come so near them, therefore occasion was sought with all diligence of the treaty. The way of the procedure was this : Robin Lesly, one of the old pages, being come over to Dunse castle, made, as it were of his own head, an overture, that we would be pleased yet to supplicate, or else the
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English forces did so multiply, that at once we would be overflowed with them. Our fear daily diminished of their violence; we knew at once the great advantages we had of the King: yet such was our tenderness to his honour, that with our hearts we were ever willing to supplicate his offcoming; yea, had we been ten times victorious in set battles, it was our conclusion to have laid down our army at his feet, and on our knees presented nought but our first supplications. We had no other end of our wars; we fought no crowns; we aimed at no lands and honours as our party; we desired but to keep our own in the service of our prince, as our ancestors had done; we loved no new masters. Had our throne been void, and our voices sought for the filling of Fergus's chair, we would have died ere any other had sat down on that fatal marble but Charles alone. At that so light a motion, we ventured, without any assurance but the King's own equity, to send over the Earl of Dumfermling, with a short supplication to hear our just demands, with a letter of our nobles to the council of England, for a very speedy answer. The youth was accepted with greater favour than was expected. For answer, Sir Edmund Pernham, marshal of the King's house, a gentleman who was known to be a lover of our nation, came over, requiring us to read the evil proclamation in the head of our troops, before our demand of communing of our controversy before some six of the English could be heard. We shewed him many grave reasons, which at his own desire were put in writ the 7th of June, I think, to be delivered to the King, why we could not read it as required; but, with much reverence, we read it at the General's table, and shewed what we disliked therein. This reading the gentleman took; and so reported it to the King, as a satisfaction to his demand; whereupon, to Dumfermling, who returned with him, with his former supplication, the King, on the Saturday at night, granted, that forasmuch as we had read the proclamation, he was pleased, that, as we required, any six of our number should come to his General Arundel's tent, to confer with six of the English of credit and trust. Much debate there was about a safe conduct for the return of ours: yet the stoutness of our men, the trust we put in the King's simple word, the hope we had by the lads on the hill to have

fetch'd them in haste, or as good for them, made us leave off that question.

On Monday, Rothes, Loudon, Sheriff of Teviotdale, and who other I forget, went over: Henderson and Johnston went not till the next morning. We had not will to hazard all at once. Our comuners went over with a fair convoy, which left them at the water side. They went, as they were appointed, to the General's tent. We had required, in our supplication, expressly to confer with men of the Reformed religion. We, and all the world with us, took Arundel for a known Papist, and the head of the Spanish and Popish faction in England; so our letters were commonly directed to Holland, general of the cavalry; and always we eschewed dealing with Arundel: yet since the King was pleased to employ him as general; since he avowed the King's religion, and countenanced sermons and communions with us; and, above all, seemed to be as truly desirous of our peace as any; we made no scruple to go to his tent. Where they were not well entered till the King came in; at whose unexpected presence we were somewhat moved, but yet very glad. His Majesty said, he came there to shew his willingness to hear all they had to say, otherwise than he was slandered. Many speeches passed, which, I think, the comuners, at their return, put in writ, and in due time shall see the light in their own royal and noble phrase. The King was very sober, meek, and patient, to hear all. Our spokesmen were very earnest to speak much, to make large and plausible narrations, as well they could, of all our proceedings from the beginning. That day there was a sweet and loving conclusion. The next meeting appointed on the Wednesday, for one day was skipped, for advertisement on all hands on what was past, and what to be proponed. The King missed Henderson and Johnston; so at the next meeting they ventured to go. On the Wednesday or Thursday, the King was much delighted with Henderson's discourse; but not so with Johnston's. Much and most free communing there was of the highest matters of state. It is likely his Majesty's ears had never been tickled with such discourses; yet he was most patient of them all, and loving of clear reason. I think it was that day when he gave two or three lines of a good general answer, That he would grant us all our desires, if it were but law, and the custom of our church and kingdom we
were

were seeking. Saturday was the third day of meeting, where the most free communing went on. His Majesty was ever the longer the better loved of all that heard him, as one of the most just, reasonable, sweet persons they ever had seen; and he likewise was the more enamoured with us, especially with Henderson and Loudon. Thir conferences purchased to us a great deal of reputation, for wisdom, eloquence, gravity, loyalty, and all other good parts, with the English counsellors, who all the time did speak little, but suffered the speech to pass betwixt us and the King. In the close of that day's reasoning, our folks waxing bolder, on their knee begged the abolition of Episcopacy. His Majesty had scarce a face to deny them any thing; yet he would give them no answer to that demand, with an expresse desire that they should not take his delay for a denial, inviting them to a new meeting on Monday: he promised to keep diet, and thereupon offered his hand; which all, on their knees, did humbly kiss, and departed full of joy and hope. All thir days they were by Arundel royally and very chearfully feasted, and much quick speech, especially from Rothes's mouth, past at the table. Nothing what England, Spain, France, Holland, could afford, was there lacking on their fields.

On to-morrow, being Sunday, some of our Scottish bishops, readily Ross and Aberdeen, with their sweet and peaceable discourses, altered somewhat the King's mind; so the next day's conference was somewhat more tart than any of the former, and closed with thir demands in writ, of the King's power to call and discharge assemblies, and voicing negatively in them. Against the next meeting we had prepared wise and discreet answers to them, all in writ, as we were commanded, tending to a negative, that the King had neither power to dissolve, nor a negative voice in the assembly, according to the word of God, our church-constitutions, our acts of assembly, or any good reason. All our consultations were in so publick a way, that nothing we spake or did, but at once it was at the King. Our ways were so full of honesty, that we did not regard all our thoughts, let be words, had been proclaimed in a theatre of the whole universe; yet we were nothing content of the light, if not treacherous mindedness of mouth, in some of our friends. We were nothing pleased with that day's discourse, and least of all with the demands.

demands. They made us suspect, that nothing was sought of us but to gain time for the coming in of more English and Irish forces to the camp, and spending of our money and victuals, that so we might be forced to retire. We therefore resolved to dally no longer, but either that day to come nearer to real conditions of peace, or else to break up our camp, and off our treaty, and for our first journey to lay down our leaguer within cannon-shot of the King's trenches.

This our peremptoriness being well known on the other side of the water, made, in the next conference, the demands to be quite miskened, and at last the King's will in writ to be given well near to our mind. This was brought back by our comuners, without much dispute about fundry clauses they thought of necessity behoved, for our satisfaction, to be altered in the writ, desiring, that the jury, if there was any of that charge, should not be theirs alone, but should fall on the whole body, to whom they were but serving commissioners.

At our tables many things were noted which did much offend. Always in the next conference some of these clauses his Majesty deleted: others, which, for his honour, he desired might stand, were so benignly commented, that for all the harshness of the text, yet the King's own exposition, declared to us by all the comuners, and taken first at their mouth by many extempore pens, and then set down by themselves to be communicated to all, gave tolerable satisfaction. Thir were the articles of our pacification, proclaimed the 18th of June in our camp. Many, whereof I was one, were glad at their heart of this divine conclusion, and blessed God then, and ever since, for so rich a mercy to the prince and whole isle. Many secret motives there were on all hands that spurred on to this quick peace. What to have done when we came to Tweed side we were very uncertain. The King might have been so wilful, as rather to have hazarded his person than to have raised his camp. Had he incurred any skaith, or been disgraced with a shameful flight, our hearts had been broken for it; and likely all England behoved to have risen in revenge. Divers of all ranks, of the best note in our camp, were beginning to be scrupulous in conscience to go into England. Though their scruples had been exceeded, yet no ordinary way for our safety did appear. Had we been but some days journey in that land, the bordering

dering shires were so barren, and so exhausted with the King's leaguer, that few nights meat might have been gotten for us unto them; from our own country we could neither have carriage-horses, nor strong enough convoys for it; the hope of England's conjunction was but small; for all the good words we heard long ago from our friends, yet all this time, when their occasion was great to have kythed their affection both to us and their own liberties, there was nought among them but either a deep sleep or silence; we heard not the case of our northern army; our ears were beaten with daily frays from Ireland on our coast; much grumbling of too many, especially of the Merse; Hume, and divers of the gentry there, were beginning to be suspected. However, these who understood best our affairs, thought that God had sent us a tolerable peace in a very fit time. Yet others grudged at the haste of it. They thought it was concluded by a few, who took too much upon them. True, all were admitted to every consultation thereanent; yet the absence from the weightiest consultations of prime noblemen and barons, and all ministers but two, was not much remarked, nor their presence sought, if their negligence, or ado's, or discontent, did avoke them. Many thought, that two or three days longer delay might have purchased us better and more clear conditions. The rendering of the castle of Edinburgh with all the munition, and the putting the fortifications of Leith into the King's hand without any condition, did much affray, especially when we saw the castle delivered to General Ruthven's custody. Always it was not now time to complain. Our companies were disbanded, our huts burnt. We looked not in haste to get such an army on foot; and without the like, our conditions might well be worse, bettered they could not be. We expected the King in our camp before it brake up, for so he promised; but he was made to alter that purpose, as too rashly given out, not being to his honour to countenance these arms which were lifted up by his subjects against his desire, and not laid down absolutely at his command, but on conditions, and these so disadvantageous to these intentions he once had avowed. At the declaration of the King's will we would not protest; yet lest it should be conceived, that in our capitulation we had passed from our assembly or covenant, we thought meet to cause Cassils read a short information of that our mind, and took instruments thereupon.

upon. This much offended Morton, who came to see the King's declaration published. Much bitter and evil speech he cast out on Argyle, alledging that, our writ, to have been against express communing. This we denied; but in so modest words, as we had no will to provoke neither him nor the King.

Some jealousies did yet remain, as drifting after a great shower. The King, as we expected, and the English nobility our best friends did desire, minted not to stir from our borders; many of his troops were but billeted in the country. Argyle, and some few other of our nobles, who went over to the camp to kiss the King's hand, were but coldly welcomed. When we sent over Loudon to have some of the articles cleared, and the performance of promises, the answers were not pleasant. The bishops were ordained to be proclaimed in the indiction of the assembly as members of the meeting. When Loudon shewed the clear necessity of our protesting against this, the Marquis advised, against the King's mind, to let that protestation go with the rest. The indiction of the assembly by the council was not kept at the promised time; the clergy and non-covenanting Lords had all the King's ear as before. The Marquis and Morton had bitter contests with our nobles before the King. The Marquis's ways were so ambiguous, that no man understood him; only his absolute power with the King was oft there clearly seen. The people of Edinburgh being sore grieved for the castle's so sudden rendering to the hand of their great enemy Ruthven, and provoked by the insolent and triumphing behaviour of that unhappy spark Aboyne, who, yet reeking from our blood in the north, would rattle in his open coach through their causey, made an onset upon him, and well near had done him violence. The Treasurer also got a chace in his coach; which in the pursuit brake, and he in the outcoming received some knocks, as they said, with some womens neaves: of this he was most glad; for they endeared him to the King at that time, when his credit was very near cracking. The Justice-General was also somewhat shored, and the Register searched in his house. The King had written for fourteen of the chief of our land to come to his camp, to give him some satisfaction in some demands. Rothes, Loudon, Montrose, Lothian, Sir Archibald Johnston, who had gone before, were not like to be dismissed. This put us all in

a ghaft more than ever, that we had been drawn in a hofe-net; yet they were difmiffed; the fourteen were ftayed from going. The courage of the anti-covenanters, who after the peace began fo to crow, fell at once. Loudon, in writ, gave to the King reasonable fatisfaction in all the questions he had to propone. The affembly was by the council indicted, albeit fome fix days after the time appointed. Our proteftation was digefted; the plot of the feflion's downfitting, for the Prefident and Register's reftitution, and other ends, were croffed. The King, after much tining of time about Berwick for the clergy's pleasure, went his way, little to their joy. For a while they were made all fo fure of reftitution, that all places of England was exprefsly denied them; yet in the articles nothing could be attained for them, for we would consent to no deed on our part that might encroach on the affembly of Glasgou. The King was weary of them; the whole court did hate them; the pages publickly jeered at them. Judge ye if their comfort was great, when all that could be gotten to them at the King's farewell was L. 10 a-piece, and L. 15 for the like of Mr William Annan. My heart was only fore for good D. Barron: after he had been at London printing a treatife for the King's authority in church-affairs, I fufpect too much to his country's prejudice, he returned heavily grieved of his gravel; he lay not long at Berwick till he died. Some convulfions he had, where in the opening of his mouth with his own hand, his teeth were fomewhat hurt. Of this fymptom, very cafeable, more din was made by our people than I could have wifhed of fo meek and learned a perfon. He had fallen very unhappily in D. Forbes's company; the faction had much laboured to gain him to their fide, and yet never done him good. I had great hopes, if he had lived a little, he fhould have quit them, and been glad to have embraced the covenant of his mother-church, as his learned brother now has done. Many other paffages there were about that time, which I have now forgot; take only one, and I clofe.

So foon as Montrofe had turned homeward to the Merns, at once Aboyne and Banff, with Crouner Gun, and fome other officers, gathered great forces. Aberdeen joined heartily to the party. They fpoiled Marifchal's lands, and all our friends there. They had devoured Dundee and all Angus in the throat of their hope. But at once Mont-

rose and Marischal, most valorous and happy noblemen, gave them some other matter to do, though much inferior in number. They came to seek them. Some great ordnance we had, which moved our party to hold off when they were coming on hoping to have clean defeat us; for their highlanders avowed they could not abide the musquet's mother, and so fled in troops at the first volley. Seaforth had promised to bring his forces to the bridge of Dee for our help; but we were much behind with that, as it seems, very false man in an exceeding dangerous time. Banff, since he was once in arms, hindered the gathering of our friends in the large shire of Aberdeen, and thereabout, being simply master of the fields. Seaforth, and Rae, his general, had gathered well near 5000 men, but did not stir out of their places. The gentlemen of Murray and Ross did gather; but so long as Seaforth stood still, they durst not leave their houses; so not a man beyond Dee did come over to our camp, except Forbes, with their pages, and some very few gentlemen. Montrose and Marischal, knowing the danger, not only to their country, but the whole cause, if they should either retire or stand, resolved to go on and fight. The enemy had fortified the bridge of Dee, and lay on the other shore under sconces, with their musquets and horsemen. We resolved to have the bridge on all hazards. It was a desperate piece of service. None more stout, and full of good directions at it, than Jesuit Abernethy, by the playing of the great ordnance on the bridge: and much ado; for the perverse citizens of Aberdeen did fight very manfully that day. At last, with some slaughter on both sides, we won the bridge. We put our enemy to rout, goes forward that same night to Aberdeen, lodges without in the fields, being resolved to-morrow to have sacked it orderly, that hereafter that town should have done our nation no more cumber. But as it pleased God to keep us from all marks of the least alledged cruelty from the first taking up of our arms, so there the preventing mercies of God did kythe in a special manner; for that same night, by sea, the King's letters of pacification at Dunse were brought to the town; which to-morrow early being presented to our nobles, made them glad they had got that blessed cord to bind up their soldiers hands from doing of mischief, whereto that wicked town's just deservings had made them very bent. For all our sparing, yet that country's malicious disloyalty seems
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not to be remeided. In the military burial of Balmain's brother, some traitor with a musquet of more bullets than one, did kill outright a gentleman very near Montrose and Marischal; as at the first expedition a knave was taken in that town, who was mightily suspected to have had a design to have killed Lesly: yea, for all our pacification, the Marquis's stout and honest soldiers, Grant and Dugair, continued, and yet are doing, still their robberies in Marischal's and all our friends lands; wherewith our parliament is much presently fashed; for it is like that much of their knavish oppressions shall be fastened on Huntly's back as the chief author. Always for that time Montrose and Marischal did post to Dunse to have their part of the joy, as well they did deserve, in the common peace; where they were made most welcome, both to their comrades and to their King. I wish this might be the comedick catastrophe of our very fearful-like Episcopal tragedy. But yet we have not received our directions to make our publick and solemn thanksgivings; yea, some clouds stick still in our air; so that we have kept with us at home, till our parliament close, all our countrymen-soldiers, to whose kindness our nation is exceedingly obliged; for, to help their boasted mother-church and country, they have deserted their charges abroad, to their great loss, which they knew she was never able to make up. They have here, on very easy and small conditions, attended her service: for fear of their valour, our peace hath been both the quicker and the better. The renown of their kindness, and conscience of their desert at the hand of their mother, will be their greatest and most glorious recompence. Before the sitting down of our assembly, in the midst, and the end, we had still new matter of fear. Athort all our parliament something of moment was ever like to go cross; yet all goes well at last; that present difficulty, whereat about the articles and fourteen votes to the King, whereat there is much sticking. I hope that huge army of Spaniards now landed in England, shall make it get haste to be swallowed down with the rest. But of our assembly and parliament at more length with the next. For recompence of my labour send to me without fail the Courants, and to the college, because of their expences, the Mercury, both Belgicus and François. The François I shall take if they refuse.

A Postscript, October 12. 1639.

— The affairs of our parliament goes but this and that way, if we look to men; our estate is but yet wavering up and down in the scales of a very dubious event. Our main acts are but scarce past the articles. The Commissioner either threatens to rise, or to protest in the day of the riding, or to make declarations equivalent to protestations, or to deny the sceptre to our most substantial desires. To prevent this, we have been content to sit still, half-idle, thrice so long time as ever any parliament in our land did continue, waiting till posts upon posts, running up and down, for carrying to us the King's pleasure. It seems our enemies credit is not yet extinguished at court. The castle of Edinburgh is daily made stronger. From London the other week arrived at Dumbarton a great ship, with cannon and other munition, with an English captain, and divers English soldiers. Division is much laboured for in all our estate. They speak of too great prevailing with our nobles. Hume evidently fallen off; Montrose not unlike to be ensnared with the fair promises of advancement; Marischal, Sutherland, and others, somewhat doubted; sheriff of Teviotdale, and some of the barons, inclining the court-way. Divisions betwixt the merchants and crafts of Edinburgh; and so, by consequence, of all the burghs in Scotland, carefully fostered by our Commissioner; our prime clergy like to fall foul upon the question of our new private meetings. Yet when we look to God, who, in great pity, has ever helped us through all difficulties, we hope yet that all shall close well. We trust the new bone God has cast in our courtier's mouth, of the Spanish navy, inclosed on our shores by all the sea-forces that France and Holland can make, will not give them leave to make use of our present infirmities; so much the more as the English are in frays, and, as they say, sundry of their south-west shires in arms, in a greater number than the King does require for the guard of his coasts; also, that the Palatinate court is soliciting for aid. In so fair an occasion, when Bamer is triumphing in Bohemia, to the terror of Vienna itself; when Mentz and Cologne are both like to be taken by the Swedes; when Alsatia is mastered; when neither Saxony nor Westphalia are so near to accept the neutrality; when Newburg is fallen off
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the Emperor; at this time, if the Palatine be deserted, he and his friends will be singular in their unfortunateness.—

12. *To the Most Reverend and Most Eminent Lord, William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of England, and one of the Lords of Council to his Majesty of Great Britain.*

IT is a position in nature, and confirmed by apostolick authority, Most Reverend and Most Most Eminent Prelate, When one member of the body suffers, the rest doth sympathise and feel with it; and when one member is honoured, the rest are joyed with it; and seeing withal we profess the same communion of saints, we have no doubt of your Eminency's being pleased to take this our letter in good part. Your Eminency cannot be ignorant, what depths and floods of calamities have overflowed our Germany these twenty years and more now past, and especially the Palatinate, before then the most flourishing province of the whole empire. We need not mention to your Lordship the several kinds of cruelties (never before heard of) practised during these years in the said countries, whereof the very mention shall be as horrible in after ages, if the second coming of Christ prevent not all posterity, as the feeling has been to these that in our time have been afflicted therewith; and here we must profess, that our minds have not at any time more sorrowed at the knowledge thereof, than they are now grieved, and much cast down, with the reports we hear, and information we have of our friends, of the levying of an army by the Most Illustrious and Most Potent King of Great Britain against his own Scots, his peculiar people, the people of the nation that bred his Majesty and his predecessors; and albeit we presume not to take upon us either to judge, or to vindicate, or defend, or plead their cause, being neither ignorant of what becometh the means of our condition, nor that all men dare incroach on other mens calling are obnoxious to the danger of being rencountered either with shame or evil success, nor that the kingdom of Great Britain aboundeth with men of singular integrity, who, in the balance of piety and prudence, can seriously weigh the causes, nature, and incommodities of this pitiful business; yet the freedom and ingenuity of our Helvetian spirits forceth

ceth us, Most Honourable Lord Prelate, to pray your Eminency to consider, that in the posture wherein all Christendom stands in these deplorable times, nothing can befall the Reformed churches so fearfully grievous as these stirs of yours. We do sincerely love your country; we honour, reverence, yea, we almost adore your King, the government, and estate of your kingdom; as we do respect, with a reverent admiration, and pray heartily to God for the prosperity of it, so all pious minds, whereof the number is not small in this our remote country, do wish nothing more seriously than the prosperity, peace, and increase of all happiness of the country of Great Britain. This our affection towards and for the good of your country, is not a flash of love lately kindled or bred in us; we have derived from our predecessors no less of the churches of England and Scotland, and sincerely religious of themselves; whose disposition in that point we have from our very childhood studied to imitate with no less zeal their virtue and piety. And forasmuch as we have no other means left for testifying our respect and affection to your Lordship, this our care and perplexity that we are in for our church, and pray your Eminency to admit, and give us leave to exonerate in to your fatherly bosom our sighs and tears, and the affection which, in the most inward corners of our hearts, we have conceived for the peace and good of your church of Great Britain; we do all know how fearfully horrible intestine wars are, and that none are so horribly cruel as these which breaks the bands and duties which either neighbourhood, nearness of blood, or religion, these princes and people; for when either a true or lawful reason, or a pretext, or a specious pretence, occasioneth a breach thereof, whatsoever before that was zeal in either party, towards the maintenance of neighbourhood, nature, or religion, turneth into a fury or madness, which passeth over all respects either to God or man; and if the rigour of God's justice send such a punishment and vengeance to your country, the Lord he knoweth what joy and insolent scorn and mockery your armies would breed in your common enemy, and what sobs and sighs, and real grief, they would bring to the reformed, true, catholick, and orthodox church.

We do therefore, with our whole hearts, wish, that both the present times, and posterity to come, may owe to your Lordship, under God, the obligation and honour
which

which they deserve that shall happen to be instruments of the continuance of the peace of the church and country of Great Britain; and if it please your Eminency to use the power you have in these times, for settling all questions in course of reason, suitable to the King's wisdom and justice, without arms, ye shall acquire an endless honour and reputation to your name, together with the affections of all good people, especially of those who stand in need of help from your King and country: they shall give most hearty thanks to God, that his Divine Majesty (by your Lordship's piety and wisdom) has freed the King of Great Britain from the danger that may follow upon these beginning stirs, the people from slaughter and ruin, the kirk from persecution, the country from the fire of war, women from ravishing, old men from loss of their children, and many millions of pious and holy souls, full of anxiety and solicitude, from the danger of fear, of despair, and desertion.

Thus we humbly beseech the Almighty God, to inspire the King of Great Britain, (whom we do most respectively reverence), your Eminency, and all his wise council, with such resolutions as may be suitable to his Majesty, glorious to the King, expedient to the kingdom, useful to the whole church-militant, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Your Eminency's most respective servants,

The Pastors and Professors of the Churches and Universities of Zurich, Bern, Basil, &c.

13. *My most beloved fellow-brethren, and most learned Pastors and Professors of the Churches and Universities of Zurich, Bern, &c.*

I received your letter, dated at Zurich, March 21. 1639, and a just double thereof, in your stile, April 18. which were most welcome to me, for two respects, both because they were yours, and because they became Christian profession, tending to persuade peace; and such truly are very seemly in these that are members of one body, and believe and profess the same communion of saints. Where they mention what calamities have befallen your Germany, and especially to the Palatinate, I am not ignorant of, neither have I forgot what miseries civil wars do breed,

breed, and that the same would quickly bathe our Britain in its own blood, if they should once fall out: but let us pray earnestly to our God, the Father of mercies, that we do not perish by the edge of our own swords.

It is no less true than grievous, that our King has raised an army to be led against his own (no more his own) Scots; and that he is now in the north parts of this kingdom, ready to repress their insolencies: but as heretofore he has left no means untried to reduce these rebels to the knowledge and performance of their duty, so I doubt not but if yet they be induced to do what becometh subjects, and what is fitting for their duty, according to Christian religion, and the laws of their kingdom, the King's Majesty will be pleased to bury in oblivion all their other actions, how criminal and seditious soever they have been.

The rest of your letter divideth itself in two parts. In the first ye write ye will not take on you either to cognosce or to judge of their cause, and that you will not incroach upon other mens callings. Nevertheless, most religious brethren, your taking notice, or judging the business, is no encroaching on any thing unbeseeming your condition or calling. For the beginning of your letter beareth, that if one member suffer, the rest do all feel; the body is one, and the members could not be members of it, if they were not sensible of its sufferings; neither can ye deny your taking notice and cognition of the business, seeing ye write that ye have heard of it, not only by general reports, but by information of your friends; also that nothing can befall the reformed churches so fearfully grievous as these stirs of ours: but possibly ye take, in a legal sense, the words *taking notice* and *judging*; but would to God ye would take upon you the judging part; and as ye have very friendly and wisely written letters to me, tending to pacification, so ye would be pleased to write other letters to these conspirators, and conjured Scots, for persuading them obedience to their King, and for shewing them, that ye maintain, that sovereign princes have that same power in ecclesiastical business which was exercised by the best kings of Judah; and that ye condemn their armed resistance to the powers ordained of God, under pretext of religion, unheard of in the primitive kirk. I say, that both your letters and judgements, and those of all the Reformed churches, should condemn
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them; for their rebellious boldness is gone so far, that it has left behind it all Jesuitical sedition, and there is nothing they are not ready to do against their natural king, under colour of religion: and here (I know not whether it is more to be lamented, or cursed with execration) the enemy of mankind does so powerfully work with them, that none are more forward ringleaders and sticklers in their seditions and rebellions, than their ministers and preachers, and the subjects are from no where more animated against their most pious king than from the pulpit. I say again, condemn; for this rebellion is so odious in the eyes of all men of any moderation or wisdom, as I fear it shall prove a scandal to all the Reformed churches in these and succeeding times, if there be any thing written against this practice of this infamous conspiracy against their king; neither shall our dangers, whatsoever the same shall happen to be, give more occasion of joy to our enemies, nor of such mockery of the Reformed churches, as the scandals which arise from this their rebellion, which subjects religion itself to infamy.

The other part of your letter beareth, that your Helvetian spirits, in their affection to our Britain, and in consideration of the dangers which attend civil wars, do request and adjure me, by the contentment and peace of my conscience, and glory on my name, that I should use the power I have, for settling the business without arms, by the King's authority and clemency. Change, I beseech you, brethren, your opinion. If I could have done it, it had been done long ago. I take God to witness, and the King, the Lord's anointed, and all the King's counsellors who were then present, that I have both publickly and privately suggested all and only counsels tending to peace; yea, and I alone, almost with reasons and prayers, (I speak truth) prevailed so far with his most pious Majesty, as all conditions of peace were once and again, and oftener, offered to the Scots rebels, which could either stand with the honour of a king to grant, or with any colour of reason to subjects to expect. Mean while the King obtained nothing, so us he strook with Gorgus' head, and turned to a stony hardness. Neither do I yet forbear to suggest counsels of peace; which assuredly would take, if the rebels were not enemies both to themselves and me, and, I fear, enemies of peace than either of me or of themselves. And what, alas, in these extre-

mities, is my weaknes able to do! when the business concerneth either such as will have no peace, or such as are incompatible with the majesty of a king to grant? Mean while, if any man have dilated me among you as an enemy of peace, I know myself to be envied by both factions, and I pray God grant them mercy, and me patience. In the mean time I leave this pledge with you, I write you truth; and as I have ever been, so shall I ever continue, an instrument of peace, when the same can be had upon lawful and reasonable terms; and I beseech God, who hath in his hand the hearts of all kings, to move his Majesty to embrace such wholesome counsels as may be agreeable to God, glorious to himself, safe for his kingdom, and useful for his whole church; and as for you, my brethren, I wish you all grace and happiness here, and glory hereafter, being

Your friend and fellow-brother in the Lord,

WILLIAM CANTERBURY.

Given at my house in Lambeth, last of April 1639.

14. *To Mr William Spang, after the Aberdeen Assembly.*

— We have been long in moving; partly of necessity, and more by resolution. We were, in February, declared traitors and rebels, upon no new reasons; our assembly's conclusion, anent our covenant and Episcopacy, assented to and subscribed by the King's Commissioner and council, are declared to be most traitorous. A commission to Northumberland, to cut us off by sea and land, before the coming up of our commissioners. When they came up, they were but mocked; the two bishops at the table-head, on the King's two hands; the Deputy, Marquis, and Windibank oft scoffingly interrupting them. We had no will to stir till the parliament was concluded; and gave a commission to our General. The castle of Edinburgh was long waited on; but when our mines failed, and the assault seemed dangerous, we thought meet to give over the enterprise. Our men were long a-gathering: albeit the west sea-bank was first at the rendezvous, before the horsemen and baggage could be gotten out it was the 1st of August. Monro found no opposition in the north. Argyle's traversing the head of Mar, Badenoch, and Lochaber, with a pretty camp and cannon,

non, never before essayed, held all that country in order. Montrose became somewhat capricious for his own fancies, and made Drummond his neighbour somewhat linger; but Argyle makes all men draw.

Our assembly at Aberdeen was kept with great peace. We found a great averfeness, in the hearts of many, from our course, albeit little in countenance. D. Sibbald, Forbes, and Scroggie, were resolved to suffer martyrdom before they subscribed any thing concerning Episcopacy and Perth articles; but we resolved to speak nothing to them of these matters, but of far other purposes. We found them irresolute about the canons of Dort, as things they had never seen, or at least considered. They could say nothing against any clause of the book, of canons, liturgy, ordination, high commission. D. Forbes's treatises, full of a number of Popish tenets, and intending directly reconciliation with Rome, farther than either Montacute, or Spalato, or any I ever saw, among their hands, and the hands of their young students, together with a treatise of Bishop Wedderburn's, and an English priest, Barnesius, all for reconciliation. D. Sibbald, in many points of doctrine, we found very corrupt; for the which we deposed him, and ordained him, without quick satisfaction, to be proceſſed. The man was there of great fame. It was laid upon poor me to be all their examiner, and moderator to their proceſs. Dr Scroggie, an old man, not very corrupt, yet perverse in the covenant and service-book. D. Forbes's ingenuity pleased us so well, that we have given him yet time for advisement. Poor Barron, otherwise an ornament of our nation, we find has been much *in multis* the Canterburian way. Great knavery and direct intercourse with his Grace we found among them, and yet all was hid from us that they could. I got my cause delayed to the next general assembly; yet Mr Robert Ramſay was ordained to transport to Glasgow, and Mr Andrew Cant to Aberdeen, fore against his mind: his patron Lothian will vehemently oppose it. Thir violent transportations will at once offend many. I am like to be more than boasted with a divinity-profession in Aberdeen. The work is so far mistaken. Better for me to be dumb or dead than so far miserable. Much of our ten days sitting spent in causes of transportations, and plantations of churches, where patrons, presbyteries, and people had their contests. All which came before us were at last

peaceably settled. Many good overtures were made, which ye will see at once in print. That which troubled us most was a passage of Mr Henry Guthrie's, which because it may be the occasion of farther din, I will relate to you particularly, so far as I understand. Our countrymen in Ireland, being pressed there by the bishops to countenance the liturgy and all the ceremonies, did abstain from the publick worship, and in private, among themselves, their ministers being all banished, did in that time and place of persecution, comfort themselves with prayer and reading, and other exercises of religion, whiles in the night, whiles in the day, as they had occasion. Sundry of them intending a voyage to New England, inclined towards the discipline of these churches; yea, some Brownists, insinuating themselves among them whileas their ministers were away, did move divers towards their conceits. The most of thir good people flying over to us, were heartily embraced of us all. Their private meetings were overlooked. Some of their conceits, though they were spreading, we let alone, till the Laird of Leckie, one who had suffered much by the bishops, was marked, using his Irish form of private exercises in Stirling, and in his prayers, some expressions which were prejudicial to Mr Harry Guthrie, minister of the said town, and other ministers of the land, who did not affect their ways. At once Mr Harry, with the brethren of that presbytery, and magistrates of that town, did begin with vehemency, and some violence, to suppress these private meetings, and to point out in very black letters all the singularities they knew or heard of in Leckie, or these who affected their ways. They, on the other side, failed not to render to Mr Harry, and the brethren, the like. The last assembly of Edinburgh were perplexed with this matter. Mr Harry made very loud complaints of their novations, both in word and writ. Sundry being conscious what in divers parts of the country was broaching, was in some fear. Divers of our chief ministers tendering very much the credit of these very pious people, were loth that any thing concerning them should come in publick. We had sundry private meetings with the chief that were thought to incline that way. Mr Henderson vented himself at many occasions, passionately opposite to these conceits. We found among ourselves great harmony of judgement; yea, Leckie declaring his mind in a writ, was found to differ

differ nothing considerable from us. Once we agreed for the framing of an act for the preveening of such questions. Both sides laid it on me to form it. All were pleased with the draught, only one not liking my conclusion of precise discharging of all novations till in a general assembly they were allowed, persuaded to leave off making of an act, lest our adversaries should triumph in our so hasty disputations, if not divisions; and did assure, by quiet dealing, to smother all farther reasoning of such purposes: only we concluded, for satisfaction of all, that Mr Harry should preach for advancement of religious exercises in every family, and Mr Robert Blair, Mr John Maclellan, Mr John Livingston, against night-meetings, and other abuses which were complained of. Mr Blair, in his sermon, did not so much cry down these meetings as was expected, wherefore Mr Guthrie refused to preach at all. Some citizens of Edinburgh declared themselves not well satisfied with Mr Henderson's zeal against their practice. One Livingston, a trafficker with the English who were affected to our reformation, but withal to the discipline of New England, in his letters to his friends abroad, did write very despitefully of Mr Henderson. This being intercepted, did grieve, not only the man himself, but us all, of all ranks, who had found him the powerful instrument of God, fitted expressly much above all other, to be a blessing to our church, in this most dangerous season. For preveening of all farther inconvenience, it was thought meet to press, in all the kingdom, religious exercises in families, according to a draught which Mr Henderson, with the unanimous consent of all, gave out in print. This family-worship was expected a sufficient remedy against the feared evils of other private meetings. But when it was not found so, these that would have kept on foot amongst us some of the Irish novations, foreseeing their severe condemnation by the ensuing general assembly, thought good to flee from that discreditable stroke, and drew together in Edinburgh, in time of the parliament, to a privy conference. On the one side, Mr Henderson and Mr Eleazar Borthwick; on the other, Mr Blair and Mr Dickson; these four agreed on a paper of caveats, limiting these private meetings; which being opened to the rest of the brethren there convened, did please all. The report of this gladed all the land, hoping that these disputations had been at a point. I heard no more of them till the
synod,

synod, at the beginning whereof, as the custom is, a list being given up for preaching in the town, Mr Guthrie was one. He finding himself, as he avowed, indisposed in body, and unable without more books and leisure than there he could have, and unwilling, since the provost of the town required he should be heard, having, as he heard, a mind to get him transported to that town, refused peremptorily to preach at all, and that with some words of headiness more than it became to us, in the face of an assembly; those who bare him at small good-will, finding him in this snare, whether to punish him for bygone businesses, or to dash him for attempting in that assembly any farther matter about Leckie's meetings, which they suspected was his main errand to that place, urged straitly the publick censure of his presumption. When he was removed, all those who had relation to the Irish business, lighted so sharply upon him, that many did think their censure was not so much for his present behaviour, as for some bygone quarrels. He took the moderator's reproof submissively enough; but whether on that irritation, or preceding resolution, he set himself with all earnestness to have these matters concluded in the assembly, which some of us were afraid so much as publickly to name. Privately he had solicited the whole northern ministers and elders, putting them in a great vehemency against all these things he complained of. It was one of my overtures for ordering the house at the beginning of the assembly, that no motion should come in publick, till first it was considered in private by the committee appointed for things of that nature whereof it was, unless the committee refused to receive it. Whereby Mr Harry his first motion in publick, though he had alledged it had been proposed by him to the committee of overtures and not received, was remitted again to the committee. By this means he was holden off some days; but by no means could be gotten diverted from proponing these questions, which we were afraid should trouble us all. Account was taken of all the commissioners of the kingdom, in the face of the assembly, of settling of family-exercise in ilk house of their presbytery; it was avowed to be every where pretty well advanced; but this was not water for the fire in hand. It was the advice of the committee, to propone Mr Henderson's paper before Mr Harry was heard. This advice, in my mind, was wholesome; for likely all would have
applauded

applauded to that paper, and no more needed for the settling of these questions; but some, whether because they were loth, though privily they assented to that paper, that yet it should go on in a publick act, or being varied with a clean contrair spait, were wilful to have Mr Harry to vent himself in publick, to the uttermost of his passions, would not let the committee determine any thing in that affair. Mr Harry being permitted at last to speak in the assembly, in a long discourse proclaimed what he was able to say of Leckie, and those meetings. Truly he uttered many things very odious, if true. Mr James Simpson of Bathgate shewed also many scandalous things of that sort of people. A commissioner from Galloway declared a number of uncouth passages, reflecting on Mr Samuel Rutherford, Mr John Livingston, and Mr Maclellan. Presently all went to a heat and confused din; the whole north, especially the Earl of Seaforth, a well-spoken man, but whose honesty in our cause ever has been much suspected, passionately siding with Mr Harry; some others fretting to hear pious people so shamefully, as they thought, calumniated. In the midst of this clamour, I took leave, sharply to regret that we did rush in a greater evil than any was complained of: the confused disorder of a general assembly was the spoiling of the only remedy of that and all other diseases; but no possibility of order and silence. The moderator had neither weight in his discourse, nor dexterity in guiding. We missed much Mr Henderson, or some of our respected nobles. At last the confusion ended in a committee for the preparing of overtures to remeid these evils. The committee was for the most part of men at Mr Harry's devotion. After much jangling and repetition, with many evils, of odious, whether true or fabulous, narrations, fundry of us inclined to have that forenamed paper passed in an act. But my Lord Seaforth, and Mr Harry, by no means could hear of that motion. They told ever, that caveats brought in the bishops; that this paper, though never so full of limitations, would be at least introductive of the thing limited. Mr Rutherford all the while was dumb; only, in the midst of this jangling, he cast in a syllogism, and required them all to answer it. "What scripture does warrant, " an assembly may not discharge; but privy meetings for " exercises of religion, scripture warrants, James v. 16. " *Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for* " *another;*

“ another ; Mal. iii. 16. *Then they that feared the Lord,*
“ *spake often one to another, &c. : Ergo,* thir things
“ could not be done in publick meetings.” A number
greedily haunst at the argument, Mr Andrew Ramsay,
Mr J. Adamson, and others ; but came not near the
matter, let be to answer formally. Mr Harry and Sea-
forth would not have Mr Samuel to trouble us with his
logick syllogisms. The truth is, as I conceive, Mr Harry
intended to have all meetings private *simpliciter* abolished ;
also Mr Rutherford I know, in a treatise, defended the
lawfulness of those meetings in greater numbers, and for
moe purposes than yet we have heard practised ; also Mr
Dickson had written, and practised, and countenanced
some things in these meetings, that now both of them
finding the inconveniencies, and seeing the great opposi-
tion they got from many good men, and especially by Mr
Henderson, were content to pass from, at least to be si-
lent of. We closed that night with this overture, That
five of our number should draw up every one of us our
conception, by way of act, to present to-morrow to
the committee, Mr David, Mr Harry, Mr David Lind-
say, Mr Alexander Peter, and I. In my act I strove, so
cunningly as I could, to canvass Mr Henderson’s paper
shortly, with some of my own conceptions. I communi-
cated it to the chief opposers of Mr Harry, Mr David
Dickson, Mr Samuel Rutherford, William Rig, and o-
thers, and got them at last to acquiesce. When we came
to the committee, all the five acts were read : the question
came betwixt mine and Harry’s. Mine was liked by all ;
only Mr Harry misliked it, and conceived that under eve-
ry word a dangerous serpent did lie. There was no remeid :
his contentment was the contentment of the body of the
assembly. Since he misliked my draught, I set myself to
persuade that his draught might be accepted ; for truly it
had nothing that was controverted. It consisted of three
articles. The 2d article was, That read prayers was not
unlawful. Mr Dick did enlarge, that it should be lawful
to read prayers both in private and publick. The 3d ar-
ticle was, That it should not be permitted to any to ex-
pone scripture to people, but only ministers, and expect-
ants approven by presbyteries. No man did contradict
the 1st article, which was, That family-worship should be
declared to be of persons of one family, not of divers.
Here was all the question. I did declare publicly, oft
without

without contradiction, that the meetings whereof he complained were not family-meetings, but another kind specially differing from the other; so that his article of family-meetings would never touch any abuse of these meetings, were they never so many and foul. Yet because this was Mr Harry's own draught, and he alledged that the people with whom he had to do, did take their conventicles only for family-exercises, he required no more than the declaration of the assembly, that family-meetings extended no farther than to persons of the same family. This, though no man could refuse, yet these that liked nothing that came from him, did question much more than they needed, and very violently urged to have, in that article, limitations which in my judgement were very needless, and did farther Mr Harry's design more than his own words. Always Mr Harry was made content to accept of one exception, which was the practice of people's flocking to their minister's family-exercise; but of any more exceptions he would not hear, and more they pressed upon an argument that did much amaze my mind, that except they got another conceit, they had a written protestation ready against that act of the synod; the thing that the devil was seeking, and would have been sweet pastime to that town of Aberdeen, and our small favourers in the north, who were greedily gazing on the event of that broil. Always at last the prayers of the land for God's blessing to that assembly prevailed, and in a moment God made the minds of these who differed to agree, to the great joy of all when they heard it. There was but five of us then in private, Mr Harry, Mr David, as parties, Belhelvie for Mr Harry, the moderator, and I, betwixt them. Mr David at last acquiesced to my request, to let Mr Harry's article pass as it stood; and Mr Harry, after once and again I had inculcate to him, that all his act was but a blephum if you put not in that clause you see it has against novations, was at last content to put it in; so with great difficulty, the act being agreed upon in private, and in the committee, when it came to be voted in the assembly it had no contrair voice. All of us did think that then the storm was close over and gone; yet when least we expected, it does blow up again as boisterously as ever. Some that were grieved and fretted that their purpose should have got so much way, desiring to have some order of him, did give in a writ, requiring, since so many vile

abuses were in the assembly alledged to have been committed by Leckie, and others, in divers parts of the country, it were expedient that a committee were ordained for the trial and severe punishment of all these misorders; and that this committee should sit in Edinburgh, and consist of those whom the assembly had appointed commissioners for the parliament, with so many other as the assembly thought meet to join with them. This bill was read near the end of the synod by Mr James Bonner, moderator of the bills, as newly given to him, by whom he knew not. Upon the hearing of it, at once there arose such an heat and universal clamour, that it was marvellous. Mr John Maclellan was found the ingiver of it; while he began to be hissed at, Mr Andrew Cant and Mr D. Dickson did speak for the reasonableness of it, and some few other ministers and gentlemen who had been on the council of it; but they were so overwhelmed with the multitude of criers, Away with it, Away with it, that they were forced to be silent, and let it go. I much grieved to see the tumultuous disorder of our assembly; and had I been on Mr David's council, I would have dissuaded him to my power from such a motion, which, if it had been assented to, was like to have fired our church more than any other brand that Satan at this time, in all his wit, could have invented: so, by God's goodness, water was cast on that fire for the time: the embers yet seem to smoke; but we hope God will see to the peace of our church, which is but a brand newly taken out of the fire, or rather yet in the midst of the flame of war and great danger.

When I returned to Edinburgh, I found there Rothes, Loudon, and Mr Archibald Johnston, sent by the army to intreat, that the town of Edinburgh would be pleased, on all security they could invent, to lend what ready money they might spare, for the supply of our soldiers, who were in strait for want of money; also because it would be troublesome to those of England, who were much delighted with their planting, if our army should cut down timber for building of our huts, they prayed, that the honest women might be tried what webs of hardin or sheets they might spare, that every four soldiers might be accommodated in a tent of eight ells. Henry Pollock had so sweetly spoke in to the people's minds on the Sunday, that the women after noon and to-morrow gave freely great store of that stuff, almost sufficient to cover our whole army;

my; and, which was more, I saw on the Monday the neighbours being convened, offer in present money, to be lent on common security, very fair sums of money; so that, far above all expectation, to our great encouragement, our messengers on Tuesday got with them a large 100,000 lb. and hope almost of as much shortly to follow. Oft-times has that worthy town been a good instrument in our cause, but never more seasonable than at this dangerous exigent. The maintenance of our army was founded on the tenth penny of our estates, and hopes from England. The first came but slowly in. The valuation of mens estates drew to great length, let be the payment. From England there was no expectation of money till we went to fetch it. We called in the plate, and put it to the coinzie-house. We craved voluntary offerings; whereby some pretty sums also were gotten. But what was all this to 20,000 merks a-day, which our army required, being about 22,000 foot and 3000 horse, beside 2 or 3000 carriage-horses, with swords and hagbuts? We lay at the border a large ten or twelve days after our appointment to march. Durie, the general commissar, for all his extraordinary diligence, could not get a fourteen days provision to the foot, and horses to carry it, which we resolved to have with us. Always at last at Colstream we passed Tweed the 20th of August with great courage, our horse-troops standing in the water, our foot all wading in order about their middle. The lot gave the van that day to Montrose; to whom, I think, it was very welcome. He went on foot himself first through, and returned to encourage his men; yet one of his soldiers, and he only of all the army, did drown. All our foot-crowners went through on foot, except one or two, being employed to break the water on horse. We marched at leisure through Northumberland; the scarcity of that country, and fear of the people, made us divide our companies in three. Lieutenant-General Almont led one part, Major-General Baillie another, the General the rest. The regiments kept their order of van and rear daily by lot; all were within eight or twelve miles call. The troopers of the garrison of Berwick made their incursions on our scattered single men, but to little purpose. On the 28th we met all, according to appointment, in Newcastle muir, a little before night. We lay near the river, some five miles above the town, at Newburn. The passage was well fortified, 10,000 foot lying

with their cannon under the trenches, 1500 horse, well mounted, with head-piece, corflet, carabine, pistols. Tomorrow their cannon and musquet played among us; but it pleased God wonderfully to assist us. Our cannon at the second volley played so well on their trenches, that their foot, in great numbers, fled from their colours about four after noon. Colonel Blair, with 1000 musquetiers, and some two troops of horse, Colonel Lesly, and Sir Thomas Hope, were commanded to go through the water. Twelve of the English troops came to meet them; whereupon they began to retire. The van of the foot that day did fall to Loudon, who, with Lindsay and Queensberry, had a brigade of 1800 men. Montgomery had a brigade as strong. These two being directed to second the horse, came running to the river with great courage, and all the army began to march; which the English perceiving, soon retired, the foot to a wood, and the horse to a hill. Here two of our horse-troops were commanded to charge them; which they did so ventoriously, that they were like to be beaten, had not our General come up with six troops for their succour. At once the English fled. We lost within a dozen. The most regretted was a brave gentleman, Sir Patrick Macgee of Largy-hills' only son; who having got the English general's colours, and flourishing with them, by mistake was slain (this holds not) by some of our own. There was killed to the English, as some say, 60, some 100, and some 500. The General Major, Lord Wilmot's son, and General Commissar Digby's, Colonel O'neal, and many more gentlemen, were taken. The night and the near wood, and most of all, our good-will to the English nation, hindered our pursuit of the victory. That night we stood in our arms. Tomorrow Newcastle was rendered to us. The soldiers and chief citizens had fled out of it in great haste. In the King's magazine was found good store of biscuit and cheese, 5000 arms, musquets, and pikes, and other provision. Mess. Henderson and Cant preached to a great confluence of people on the Sunday. Lord Lothian with his regiment was placed to govern the town; our camp lay without. The report of this in all our pulpits did make our people sound humble and hearty thanks to God, in the confidence of whose help this work was begun, and on whose strength it does yet rely. Not well knowing what to do next: yet this is no new thing to us; for many

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a time from the beginning we have been at a nonplus; but God helped us ever. Our army is already diminished; the straits of victuals, and discipline, has made many to run away, on whom the troopers at Berwick has lighted fickerly. Money of our own we cannot have; of our English friends, either their money or men, as was long ago expected, we cannot hear. If we trouble in the least fort the country of England, we are feared for their rising against us. Where the King is, and what forces he can make, we cannot certainly know. There was 10,000 Irish thir two months lying on the coast of Ireland foregainst our country, keeping these in the west under Eglington and Argyle in suspense. They are now thought to be transported to England; so it is expected we shall yet have a battle. Our army minds to refresh themselves at Newcastle. They have written to the committee of estates for a recruit of brave men anew in arms. There is no doubt, if our harvest were ended, and money were had, if the English now will be beasts, and dastardly towards us, they must lie without any man's pity under their slavish servitude for ever. We put little doubt but we shall get for ourselves fair enough conditions; but it will be to our great regret, if we get not all the King's dominions to our happiness. The 28th of August, the day of our solemn humiliation in burgh and land through all the kingdom, according to the general assembly's appointment, was a happy day to us, not only for our glorious victory in England, but also two other of God's benefits: the castle of Dumbarton, questionless the strongest place in Britain, did capitulate to render to-morrow, and did so: meal, flesh, fish, fresh water, money, and ammunition of all kinds they had in store; but God sent the scurvy among them, whereof many were dead, and more very sick, and few men for service left. We gave them baggage and arms, and a courteous convoy to Borrowstounness, where they shipped for Berwick. Also, as I think, the same day the garrison of Berwick thought to have surpris'd our garrison and cannon at Dunse; but being discovered, they were bravely repuls'd; and in the carts that they brought for our cannon, they returned nought but their own dead bodies. It is the good pleasure of God to mix the wine of his own with some water or milk, that it run not into their weak heads. To-morrow, on Sunday the 30th, an English villain, having, as we are informed, been suborn-

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ed by the garrison of Berwick, put fire in the powder which lay at Dunghass, and tumbled over the house on that brave and noble gentleman the Earl of Haddington, whose page he was, to whom the charge of all the east country was committed. Many gentlemen, and others, were smothered with the Earl, and many dangerously hurt. God brought us some good out of that great evil, that is thought was prepared for our General and all our nobles, who oft before a little time met for council in that house; albeit the knave blowing up himself with the rest cannot be had to tell us the certainties. I say, some good we got by it; the people about the house being amazed, put on beacons for gathering of the country, and by their example all Lothian and Fife set up their fires; whereupon the castle of Edinburgh, apprehending the King's navy for their relief, does carouse so jovially that night, that they put off more provision than they had done for some weeks before. This, with the example of Dumbarton, and report of Newcastle, it is hoped, will haste at once the rendering of that house. General Ruthven on Sunday last craved a parley; we expect shortly the good issue of it. The Earl of Argyle received a commission to levy 10,000 men for a voyage to Ireland; however, for the present, it may be but a boast to hold the Irish army at home; yet, as many of our boasts have proven in the end real strokes, this readily may do so; for it is thought we have many thousands in Ireland, not only Scots, but Irish, who are longing for our coming over.

Since, we have seen in many letters from the best hands in our camp, fundry divers relations, of many circumstances of our conflict at Newburnford; but the most agrees to what I have written; however, read yourself the information sent by our committee to our table at Edinburgh, even of it I have seen another copy somewhat differing. Our General, thinking our enemies had not been out of the field, made our army that night stand in their arms, about the place of the fight. We got the royal standard, Charles Porter the carrier being killed. Lord Conway, their general, was near taken. They report he took an oath of all the troops to die in the place, neither to take nor give quarter; yet when they stood a while till their foot was out of danger, they themselves, with little ado, forgot their oath, and saved their lives for a better time.

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The King was coming on to them as far as Northallerton; but hearing of the defeat, returned to York. For all our victory, we were in great straits; all our victuals were spent; all the country had fled, with all they could carry. If Newcastle had but closed their ports, we had been in great hazard of present disbanding; but all the garrison and principal citizens fleeing away that same night in a panic terror, made them to-morrow offer us all they had. Their facility made us at once to try Durham, who willingly received Dumfermling to lie there, with a brigade of foot, and some horse. Tinemouth, Shields under Newcastle, rendered thereafter; which put in our hands the harbour and shipping. There we welcomed two of the King's ships, which brought to us out of the King's garrison in the town good store of victuals. Finding plenty about Newcastle, we sent back some of our greatest ordnance, most cumbersome to carry. When we had drawn a little our breath, I think on Friday, the 4th of September, we sent Mr Hugh Cathcart with an humble supplication to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to hear our grievances, and provide for them. At the same time some forty nobles convened at London, sent Lords Mandevil and Howard to petition for a parliament, to settle this war without farther blood, and to take order with manifold grievances, as you may see them expressed in the writ itself. The King's answer to both was mild and short. Ours indeed held on generals, being most part excusatory for what was past, and preparation for a parley about particulars; so the King, by his secretary Lord Lanerick, desired us to propone our special desires; which at once we did, in eight articles, with William Fleming. What the event will be, God knows. Proclamations are over all England, to call all to the royal standard at York against the 24th of this instant. It were easy for us to hinder that meeting, and surprise that rendezvous; yet we resolve to go no farther in till we see what our friends intend. We are fortifying our winter-quarters at Newcastle: the General calls to the committee for a recruit of 5 or 6000 men with diligence; also has written to Argyle and Eglington to be in readiness, with all that country, when he calls for them. We will go with the better will since that most troublesome thorn of the castle of Edinburgh is now out of our foot. On Tuesday, the 15th of this instant, for all their late thundering, they closed their capitulation with

with Argyle; and on Friday, with displayed colours, arms, baggage, and two pieces of cannon, were conveyed to Leith for Berwick. The committee at Newcastle was much displeased with this capitulation: in their letter to the committee at Edinburgh, they complained of it as disgraceful and disadvantageous, that traitors to their country, when, after all the worst they could do, were brought to extremities, even then with such honour to be dismissed. But the truth is, the good town of Edinburgh did suffer daily so much at these knaves hands, as by any means they were most glad to be rid of them; also our registers, and jewels of the crown, with much munition, was in their hands; which, had they been put to desperation, they might, and were like to have been willing to destroy it all. A little after, Nithsdale rendered his houses of Carlavrock; and three of which had kept all year Cochran's regiment at the siege. So now, by God's mercy, there is not a place nor person in Scotland who makes them to oppose us; also these men which the north, Edinburgh, and Nithsdale, had hitherto withdrawn, were now ready, with their crowners, Monro, Lindsay, Hume, to convoy Marischal to Newcastle, who in haill, about 3 or 4000 foot, were welcome to supply the absence of our fugitives; who well near in as great, or a greater number, was returned home without a pass; for as yet our people not seeing any number of run-aways hanged, according as oft as they had heard it threatened, was not very conformable to the strictness of military discipline.

Long before this, after our first going over Tweed, about the 20th of August, we were of new proclaimed rebels at London; but the apprentices, or some other of our good friends, in papers publicly affixed, with the proclamations, declared us honest men. We went on notwithstanding, as we might, with our affairs in England. The town of Newcastle was put to the contribution of L. 200 Sterling a-day, the county of Northumberland to L. 300, the bishoprick to L. 350. Commissions were given to lift the rents of prelates and Papists, who had fled, and avowed themselves our enemies.

Thus for some days we lived at ease and peace, waiting, with some fear, what the 24th day might bring forth. At that time the most of the land kept the King's appointment, and many of our friends, the noblemen supplicants, were there, contrary to our expectation. The King's

speech you may read. Traquair thereafter was brought in to repeat that lesson he had said before the privy council, whereupon in February they had declared war against us; yet the supplications received from all the nooks of the country, subscribed with many thousands, the most considerable hands in England, did not only force the indiction of the parliament to the 3d of November, but also that same night drew out Lanerk's letter to our committee for a parley the Thursday after following the 10th of October. For their safe conduct there passed some letters betwixt us and the Secretary. It was sent us in so ample a form as we could have wished. The peers excused their not subscribing together with their prince; but witnessed his subscription in a letter of their own apart, with many hands, to which we acquiesced. We thought it strange to see the King, by his secretary, petition us in so equal terms for our pass for these he sent to Berwick, and for dismissing the officers we had taken at Newburn. We yielded to the releasing of all prisoners so much with the better will, that Sir Archibald Douglas, going out of Durham with a troop of horse to view the fields, had, contrary to his commission, foolishly passed the Tyse, and staggering in the night in a village without a centinel, was surprised by the King's horse, with all his troopers. For all this, we get but little encouragement from our friends in the south. They sent us indeed this paper of intelligence, but no money we could get, but a little benefit of Newcastle coal. The King's ships hindered the traffick. The owners and workmen were very thrawart to do any service either for themselves or us; yea, we found much cozening and knavery among that people. Some of the gentlemen who undertook to contribute, failed of their assurances. We were forced to send out for their cattle to cause them to be true. These who had the collection of the money, exacted double to that they gave to us; the heaviest burden was laid by them abusing our ignorance on the back of Protestants our friends.

Some of the English, under our blue caps, became robbers every where. The most of the churchmen having removed all that they had considerable, left their houses with some trash open, which their servants and neighbours spoiled. At once libels full of outrages done or feigned by the English themselves, are presented to the King against us. The mayor and aldermen of Newcastle pretend

tend inability to pay their L. 200 a-day. We were forced to put a guard about their town-house till we got new assurances from them. According to our declarations, we took nothing from them for nought; only we borrowed on good security so much money a-day as was necessary for our being, to be repaid truly before our departure. Other inconveniencies befel us than these. Our soldiers began to take fluxes through cold and watching: some of our officers became malecontents: we remedied both so well as might be. At the General's desire, out of the voluntary contribution of parishes, there was with diligence sent to our soldiers, shoes, coats, hose, shirts; all were lodged in houses, the most in the suburbs of Newcastle, the fortifications on the south side being perfected against a royal siege. What ailed our officers is not yet well known; only Montrose, whose pride long ago was intolerable, and meaning very doubtful, was found to have intercourse of letters with the King, for which he was accused publickly by the General in the face of the committee. His bedfellow Drummond, his cousin Fleming, his ally Boyd, and too many other, were thought too much to be of his humour. The coolness of the good old General, and diligence of the preachers, did shortly cast water on this spark, beginning most untimeously to smoke. On Thursday the 1st of October our eight comuners came to Rippon, some fourteen miles from York. The English Lords were there a little before them. To-morrow they begun their conferences. Lord Bristol, their speaker, gave us their commission at the table; they received likewise ours, according to the instructions from our committee. After our demands were given in, as the English required, in writ, some questions were moved about the grounds of the treaty. They would have builded upon the pacification at Dunse; we, on our petitions and answers from the King: since they required a cessation from arms during the treaty, we demanded the payments to our army, which was promised, for the time bygone, where they had been with-holden, and L. 40,000 Sterling a-month till we in their parliament had gotten security of our peace. The King sent down to assist his comuners, by way of advice, Traquair, Morton, Lanerk, Sir Lewis Stewart, Sir Henry Vane. The Treasurer we all utterly declined, as one of whom we were chiefly to complain. Sir Lewis we thought for his vocation unmeet for a treaty; the

the rest we excepted against as not being expressed in the commission. They gave us, indorsed by Sir John Bonner, clerk to the council, some complaints of the Bishop of Durham, town of Newcastle, and some more, of our injuries done to them. They retired from the table to a private room for advisement; and we had also another room prepared for our consultations. That night we closed, they craving leave to express the King's answer to our propositions against the morning, and we sending the libels of complaint to our committee for their answer, which quickly returned. We are somewhat jealous of the English policy in this treaty. If it take not speedy success, our General minds to lift speedily from Newcastle, and draw nearer to York. Argyle, with a brave band of gentlemen-volunteers on horse, are making in. The rest of the country are commanded to be ready on a call. We hope that God will make the fear of our arms further the treaty.

15. *Copy of the letter sent from the Committee of War to the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh, immediately after the victory the Lord gave them at Newburnford.*

Right Honourable,

SINCE our last to you we had nothing of importance to write to you till the army came to Newburnford, which is about five miles above Newcastle. The day before the army came to that ford, the General and committee sent two letters, one to the Mayor, and another to the Governor of Newcastle, desiring a free passage; which being carried by a drummer, were refused to be received, and so sent back again unopened. When the army came to their night's leaguer at Newburnford, the General and Lieutenant-General, Earl of Montrose, Lord Ker, and some few with them, were going about the fields towards the water, an English troop appeared above the water-brae, within a short distance of them. Both halted till some more of our horses came up, and then the English retired over the water. It was late at night before the whole army came to their quarters. On the morrow the General commanded the soldiers to be refreshed with victuals, which was done according to the provision they had; and on the morrow some pieces of great cannon were sent to a

little hill on this side of the river, over-against the English works and trenches, which were cast up on the other side, upon the fords, planted with musquetiers to stop our passage. The English leaguer was on this side of the hill, about a mile from the water, whither the body of their army was, which was reckoned to be 2500 horse, and 4 or 5000 foot: the horse were strong and lusty, and the men well armed. The English, about twelve of the day, drew up eleven troops of horse in the hollow a little by-east the ford, where they stood in order till two in the afternoon; at which time our great ordnance and field-pieces, which were planted in places about, did play upon these footmen that were in the works; and having killed sixteen or twenty of them, did so affray the rest, that all the foot were there fled in confusion. The horsemen coming to second them, were likewise met with the cannon; which made some of them to flee also. This animated our soldiers; so that scarcely they did stay for orders; but with horse and foot went over the water, and took them all prisoners who staid in the trenches. Our horsemen so resolutely charged the English horses, that they never encountered them but they put them to flight. All our horsemen did not win up to the charge; but all who came did so bravely, that we cannot tell whom to commend most. Sir Thomas Hope had the van; whose troop being charged with the English, howbeit in a strait passage, did so acquit themselves, that they beat back the English, killed many of them, and took some prisoners. Colonel Lessly seconded him with great courage and resolution. All the rest that came to the charge acted their parts too resolutely, that if there had been more hours of day-light, by all appearance there had been many more of the English taken and slain. It is not certain how many of the English are dead, neither of what quality; but there are many of their arms found. Edmund Porter's eldest son, Charles, who was Cornet to my Lord Conway, is killed, and the Cornet found. Sir John Digby, captain of horse, Mr Wilmot, eldest son to the Lord Wilmot, Serjeant-Major, General of the horses, and General Commissary, with Serjeant-Major Owwel, are taken prisoners, with a great many more of horse and foot. On our side many are hurt. Sir Patrick Macgee's son, Thomas Dalling-tumble, a man of my Lord Lindsey's, are killed. On the morrow after this conflict, the General, and these of the
committee,

committee, being on their march toward Newcastle, resolved to write a letter to the mayor and aldermen of the town to crave provision for the army; and as they were about to send this letter, intelligence came, that all the whole forces were gone out of Newcastle, and that there were none but inhabitants in it, whereof the most part and richest had transported themselves, some by land, and some by sea. This made them not to send the letter, but directed the sheriff of Teviotdale, with a letter and trumpet, to speak with the magistrates, to get entry and provision; which was granted; and on Sunday morning the General and committee entered the town, planted some guards of horse and foot within it. They were met at the port by the mayor and aldermen, and convoyed to the mayor's house. Thereafter the committee met, and desired the magistrates to provide victual for the army. Mr Henderson was appointed to preach in one of the kirks, and Mr Cant in another; which was done accordingly. Thereafter the committee met, whose present difficulty was to get victual to the army, which was hard to obtain, in respect the King's forces had spent what was ready, and baxters and millers had all fled from the town. On the morrow, the last of August, the committee met again, and appointed search to be made for all the magazines and granaries in the town, where they found a great store of cheese, some biscuit, and abundance of wheat, rye, beans, and pease, and very much ammunition; so that we hope in God, before that we part from this, our soldiers shall be refreshed, and provision made for our farther march. The Earl of Lothian and his regiment are appointed to govern the town, and keep good order in it; the prisoners or taken soldiers, who are for the most part pressed men, are to be set free; the horsemen are to be put in prison till they be ransomed; the prime officers are to be disposed of, as you shall know hereafter. Their two great works, in passing the river against such forces and preparations, and in getting entry in Newcastle, are so miraculously wrought, by God's providence, beyond all expectation, that you and we have reason to give God thanks solemnly for it, and ought never to be forgotten, but to be remembered with thankfulness by us and our posterity. What further shall occur, you shall know from
Yours.

16. *To Mr Baillie. Newcastle, Oct. 15. 1640.*

Reverend Friend,

WE must intreat you to come hither with as great expedition as you can conveniently, and to bring with you a number of your Canterburian Self-convictions, together with the warrants thereof, and all such papers and proofs which may serve for that purpose. Your being here within a few days, is desired and wished by all your friends here, and may prove useful for the publick. Hoping ye will set all excuses aside, and prefer this business to all others, we rest, your affectionate friends,

Sic subscribitur, ROTHES. MONTROSE. CASSILS.
NAPIER. KEIR. RICCARTOUN. W. HAMILTON.
RUTHERFORD.

17. *Argyle to Mr Baillie. Edinburgh, Oct. 17. 1640.*

Most affectionate friend,

I wish I had insisted in my desire to urge your outcoming, when I spoke it to you at Glasgow; but my respect, as ye know, to my Lord Eglinton, made me forbear at that time. Always now that you are called by this inclosed from our committee at the camp, I hope neither will you make difficulty to come, nor will my Lord Eglinton hinder you: for truly, as I hear, our ministers work more upon the soldiers nor all other discipline could, and your gift at this time (I will say no more of it lest you think I flatter you) may conduce much to the great work in hand; therefore I intreat you be not difficile; and if you be here any time before Saturday at night, I hope to enjoy your company, which is the earnest desire of your loving friend to my power,

ARGYLE.

18. *Mr Baillie to his Wife. Newcastle, Nov. 5. 1640.*

My Heart,

I wrote to thee from Edinburgh, also from Kelso to Mr
Claud,

Claud, suspecting thy absence. I wrote to thee likewise from Newcastle on Saturday last. Since, I thank God, I have been very well, as my heart could wish, and all my company. Yesternight the committee sent for me, and told me of their desire I should go to London with the commissioners. I made sundry difficulties, which partly they answered, and partly took to their consideration till this day. At our presbytery, after sermon, both our noblemen and ministers in one voice thought meet, that not only Mr Alexander Henderson, but also Mr Robert Blair, Mr George Gillespie, and I, should all three, for divers ends, go to London: Mr R. Blair, to satisfy the minds of many in England, who love the way of New England better than that of presbyteries used in our church; I, for convincing of that prevalent faction, against which I have written; Mr Gillespie, for the crying down of the English ceremonies, for which he has written; and all four to preach by turns to our commissioners in their houses, which is the custom of divers noblemen at court, and was our practice all the time of our conference at Rippon. We mind to Durham tomorrow, God willing, and other twelve miles to Darlington, there to stay all Sunday, where we hope to hear, before we cross the Tyne on Monday, how things are like to frame in the English parliament. We have the King's hand for our safe conduct; we have sent for the great seal of England thereto also, which we expect ere we leave Darlington. Six of us, Messrs. Johnston, Henderson, Smith, Wedderburn, Blair, and I, go journey every one of us with an attender on horse. I think the sheriff of Teviotdale shall go with us. Rothes and Dunfermling, Riccartoun and Hugh Kennedy of Ayr, take post on Saturday. This day Waughton is away post before us, to advertise us in our journey how all goes. Loudon is fashed with a defluxion; he will stay till Monday, and come on as health serves, journey or post. Our soldiers here are well: they get but ill fare, yet God helps them strangely; none in so good case as our brigade. Lord Montgomery has won to himself more honour than any one man here. They speak here of the apprentices pulling down of the high-commission house in London, of General King's landing with 6 or 7000 Danes in the mouth of Thames, near London: we wish it were so; but

but we take it, and many things more you will hear, for clatters. —

19. *Mr Baillie to his Wife.*

My Heart,

I know thou does now long to hear from me. I wrote to thee on Saturday was eight days from Durham. That day we went to Darntoun, where Mr Henderson and Mr Blair preached to us on Sunday. At supper, on Sunday, the post with the great seal of England, for our safe conduct, came to us, with the Earl of Bristol's letter to London, intreating us to make haste. On Monday we came to Boroughbridge before we lighted, twenty-five miles. On Tuesday we rode three short posts, Ferrybridge, to Tuxford, and Doncaster. There I was content to buy a woven waistcoat. On Wednesday we came another good journey to Newark on Trent, where we caused Dr Moysey sup with us. On Thursday to Stamford; on Friday to Huntingdon; on Saturday to Ware: where we rested the Sabbath, and heard the minister, after we were warned of the ending of the service, preach two good sermons. On Monday morning we came that twenty miles to London, before sun-rising; all well horse and men as we could wish; divers merchants and their servants with us, on little nags. The way extremely foul and deep, the journey long and continued, fundry of us unaccustomed with travel, we took it for God's singular goodness that all of us were so preserved; none in the company held better out than I and my man and our little noble nags. From Kilwinning to London I did not so much as tumble: this is the fruit of your prayers. I was also all the way full of courage, and comforted with the sense of God's presence with my spirit. We were by the way great expences; their inns are all like palaces; no marvel they extortion their guests: for three meals, coarse enough, we would pay, together with our horses, L. 16 or L. 17 Sterling. Some three dishes of crevishes, like little partans, 42 s. Sterling. Our lodgings here were taken in the common garden: Rothes, Mr Archibald Johnston, in one; Dunfermling and Mr Henderson in one; the three barons in one; the three burgeses in one; Loudon, whom we expect this night, in a fifth, where

Mr Blair has a chamber, I another, our men in a third : our horse-meals every week above L. 11 Sterling. The city is desirous we should lodge with them ; so to-morrow I think we must flit. All things go here as our hearts could wish. The Lieutenant of Ireland came but on Monday to town late, on Tuesday rested, on Wednesday came to parliament ; but ere night he was caged. Intolerable pride and oppression cries to Heaven for a vengeance. The lower house closed their doors, the Speaker kept the keys till his accusation was concluded. Thereafter Mr Pym went up, with a number at his back, to the higher house ; and, in a pretty short speech, did, in name of the lower house, and in the name of the commons of all England, accuse Thomas Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ; of high treason ; and required his person to be arrested till probation might be heard : so Mr Pym and his back were removed. The Lords began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haste to the Lord Lieutenant, where he was with the King : with speed he comes to the house ; he calls rudely at the door ; James Maxwell, keeper of the black rod, opens : his Lordship, with a proud glooming countenance, makes towards his place at the board head ; but at once many bid him void the house : so he is forced, in confusion, to go to the door till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to kneel ; and on his knees to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delivered to the keeper of the black rod, to be prisoner till he was cleared of these crimes the house of Commons had charged him with. He offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone, without a word. In the outer room James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword. When he had got it, he cries, with a loud voice, for his man to carry my Lord Lieutenant's sword. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach, all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom, that morning, the greatest of England would have stood discovered, all crying, What is the matter ! He said, A small matter, I warrant you. They replied, Yes indeed, high treason is a small matter. Coming to the place where he expected his coach, it was not there ; so he behoved to return that same way, through a world of gazing people. When at last he had found his coach, and was entering, James

Maxwell told him, your Lordship is my prisoner, and must go in my coach, so he behoved to do. For some days too many went to visit him, but since, the parliament has commanded his keeping to be stricter. Pursuivants are dispatched to Ireland, to open all the ports, and to proclaim that all who had grievances might come over; also to fetch over Sir George Ratcliff, who will be caused to depone many things. The chief is, his intention, with the Irish army, and so many as the King could make, to fall on the English Lords who are the country-way; his cruel monopolies, whereby he sucked up, for his own use, the whole substance of Ireland. Lord Montmorris, Sir John Clotworthy the Chancellor, have been chief informers. The King was much commoved; the Marquis, by the delivery of Pym's speech, did somewhat calm him. The parliament of Ireland is sitting: a remonstrance from them, without any knowledge of things done here, came this day to the King, which, they say, has calmed him much, and turned his mind somewhat from the Deputy.

We were extremely welcome here. The parliament has granted L. 100,000 Sterling, whereof we shall have near forty in present money, to pay our army six weeks, without prejudice to exact, according to our bargain, is more due to us from the four shires. Burton, I hear, is come to town. Bastwick and Prim are coming, as they were sent for. Leighton has been twice heard; and on Friday, is hoped, shall be absolved. Lincoln, on Saturday, did sit in parliament; and his petition, to have his cause discussed in parliament, received. The King, in his first speech, called us rebels; but much murmuring being at that style, he thought good, two days thereafter, to make a speech to excuse that phrase, and to acknowledge us his subjects, to whom he had sent his great seal, and with whom he was in treaty, to settle a perfect agreement, with their consent and approbation.

On Thursday last was here a fast. Mr Blair and I preached to our commissioners at home; for we had no cloaths for out-going. Many ministers used greater freedom than ever here was heard of. Episcopacy itself beginning to be cried down, and a covenant cried up, and the liturgy to be scorned. The town of London, and a world of men, minds to present a petition, which I have seen, for the abolition of bishops, deans, and all their appurtenances. It is thought good to delay it till the

the parliament have pulled down Canterbury, and some prime bishops, which they mind to do so soon as the King has a little digested the bitterness of his Lieutenant's censure. Huge things are here in working. The mighty hand of God be about this great work. We hope this shall be the joyful harvest of the tears that thir many years has been sown in thir kingdoms. All here are weary of bishops. This day a committee of ten noblemen, and three of the most innocent bishops, Carlisle, Salisbury, Winchester, are appointed to cognosce by what means our pacification was broken, and who advised the King, when he had no money, to enter in war without consent of his states. We hope all shall go well above our hopes. I hope thou wilt not neglect me; prayer is our best help: for albeit all things go on here above our expectation; yet how soon, if God but wink, might the devil, and his manifold instruments here watching, turn our hopes in fear! When we are most humble, and dependent on God, whose hand alone has brought this great work to the present pass, we are then most safe. This day I have heard that Canterbury has an apology at the press; if it be so, at once I will have more to do.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

20. *Mr Baillie to the Presbytery of Irvine. London,*
Dec. 2. 1640.

Reverend and dear Brethren,

THE last post went from us the 23d of November. I wrote to you at length of all our bygone proceedings. Since that time, till now, none has gone from us. The first night we came, Warwick and other Lords came and told us, that money for our army was agreed upon by parliament, and with all diligence would be sent. Our commissioners knowing the strait of our army, used their best means to have it hasted; yet it is not gone, and before it were in the way, we had no will to write any thing. One lower-house man, of mean quality, Harrison, a farmer of customs, and not esteemed wealthy, one day the last week, seeing the payment of the promised sums draw long, offered publickly in the house, to provide for his part L. 50,000, which is the one half of the sum; and so we hear he has done. They say at last L. 25,000 is put in coffers, to go away to-morrow for our army, and

that the other twenty-five, shall within two or three days follow. All things here go well, blessed be God. The petition against Episcopacy, subscribed with some thousands of hands, as many say, had been given in, and pressed hard before now, had not friends in both the houses, as more than the two part are, advised to spare the pressing of that conclusion, till first they had put the whole bishops and their convocation in a premunire, for their last illegal canons, which now they are about, also till they had brought down some of the prime bishops for private faults, which they had no will to essay, till they had closed the process of the Lieutenant, about which they have been thir many days. They have passed an act of great consequence in him, to be a leading case to Canterbury and others, but with great dispute, that every privy counsellor shall be obliged to witness, on their oath, of all the evil counsels they have heard given to the King, even in council. It is expected daily when Canterbury shall be brought in. Thir two days they have been preparing matter for Windebank's process; yet he has not as yet been accused. The courage of this people grows daily, and the number, not only of people, but preachers, who are rooting out of Episcopacy. All are for bringing them very low, but who will not root them clean away, are not respected. Not one I hear of in the universities, or in dignities, does speak as yet. Holsworth, Ward, Feitly, Brummerick, Prideaux, or any famous for learning, nothing is expected from them; but there is great appearance that God will do his own work, without these learned Rabbies help. That which is much feared is like to do no skaith. Sey and Brook in the higher house, and these alone, and some leading men in the lower, were suspected by their inclination to the separatists, would divide from the Presbyterians, and so weaken the party opposite to bishops: but so far as yet can be perceived, that party inclinable to separation will not be considerable; and whatever it be, these and the rest who are for the Scots discipline, does amicably conspire in one, to overthrow the bishops and ceremonies, hoping, when these *rudera* are put away, that they shall well agree to build a new house, when the ground is well swept. Nothing frays all here so much as our quick agreeing with the King, and the disbanding of our army thereupon. Under God, they all every where profess that they are owing to that
army

army their religion, liberties, parliaments, and all they have; that if we take conditions for ourselves, they say they are undone. Much fair speech they give us, but for their deeds we yet see nought; yet there is good hope of monies for our army, so long as the treaty may continue, and with the better will the longer it continues; good hopes also of repairing our losses with a large sum. In our treaty we prefaced with a declaration in writ, that our trying there was no submission to the English parliament, nor any further acknowledgement of any privilege they could have above us, than we would claim over them, if so be the commissioners of their parliament would come to Edinburgh, the King being resident there, to treat with our commissioners in time of our parliament: this was accepted. Against our first demand, the publishing of our acts of parliament, some objections were made against two or three acts; which we answered to the King's contentment: but thereafter, as we were informed, Register, President, Secretary, Galloway, Airly, &c. put the King, with their despiteful words, in an evil mood: so on the last Thursday, a paper is given in of these incendiaries, dyting by the King to the English Lords, and by them to us, for this the fashion, continuing objections against a number of the acts of parliament. The way of proceeding was fashious both to ours and the English commissioners; so the next day, Friday, ours gave in a large and sharp answer to every objection. This satisfied the English so fully, that they went to the King, and told him, the sense of disgrace of so frivolous objections were dyted by such men, to be proponed by them to the Scots; they made the King shortly content to promise, that to-morrow, at nine o'clock, he would call for us, and would grant us our whole first demand simply, and would crave back the papers of his objections, and deliver our answers, that both might be destroyed. This was done on Saturday accordingly, to our great joy; for the first demand is of far greatest difficulty, the rest are but corollaries or appendages to it. The word went through the city that our treaty was near ended, and we making home. On Monday our commissioners kissed the Queen's hand; but without any word of discourse. There were there that could have spoken; but they were informed it was not the fashion to speak at these occasions; yet all repented that they did not use some compliment. In the afternoon

we thought good to get writ of the King's agreement to our first demand, so we received it subscribed with the clerk's hand. When the King granted the matter of our demands, he referred the manner of publishing these acts to us, to be done so much for his honour, and saving of his prerogative, as might be. We gave in our draught for this end, which pleased all the English very well: but when it was brought to the King and our good patriots, (we hear not but the Marquis and Traquair both do us all the good they can, and would amend bygones by fair play now, to eschew the storm of incendiaries if it were possible), it mightily dissatisfied them; so on Tuesday the King gave in a writ, wherein he would have, under the name of publishing our acts in an honourable way, understood the real destroying of the first, second, third, and some more of the most material of our acts. Thus he displeased both ours and the English commissioners; so this day we have given a quick answer to that paper, shewing, that we have neither power nor commission to pass from any act of parliament, especially having the King's grant of them all, both by word and writ: so all things here are changeable. Our treaty, which all believed was far advanced some days ago, is now, by a contrair tide of evil information, just where it was at first: but we doubt not but at once we shall have all our demands; for the God of heaven is clearly with us, encourages daily our friends, amazes our enemies, and confounds them. I have sent you some parliament-speeches, and two gazettes for foreign news. Dear Brethren, have a care of my flock: be assured, albeit I live here, and all our company every way as we could wish, yet my heart is there among you; and so soon as I can purchase leave, I will haste home: but, for the present, I have both my arms full of my old friend, his little Grace, as they style him. If his process was once closed, which yet is not begun, the most of my errand here were at a point. You see I weary not to write, though it be near twelve at night, and this be the first of all my letters. The Lord be with you, bless you all, and God's work in your hands. Stir up yourselves and your flocks now to pray for this mighty work in hand. On Saturday Burton and Prin came through the most of the city triumphantly: never here such a like shew; above 1000 horse, and as some of good note say, above 4000; above 100 coaches, and as many say above 200, with a world of foot, every one with their rosemary-branch. Bastwick is
not

not yet come from Scilly; this galled the bishops exceedingly.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

21. *Mr Baillie to his Wife. Dec. 4.*

My Heart,

ALL of us are very well. Our treaty goes well on. We hope to bring with us a happy and sure peace. The parliament of England goes on very graciously: none sad here but the faction that long made many grieved. Truly it is now very busy. It is laid upon me to give his little Grace the last stroke, to make as we hope his funeral. Our remonstrance against him, as the prime incendiary; Windebank is fled; our treaty is prolonged to the 16th of January; our first three demands are satisfied; to-morrow we craved the play, for we are not ready for the first article of the incendiaries till Monday. I must break off.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

22. *To the Presbytery of Irvine. London, Dec. 19. 1640.*

Reverend and Dear Brethren,

ON Friday was eight days I wrote to you fully all that I remembered had passed. Since, all has gone on well, praised be God. Our first demand, in publishing in the King's name all our acts of parliament, without exception or limitation, together with those which in the next session of this current parliament shall be concluded. We received with thanks our second demand, about the castles, which was declared to be granted in the first. Our third also was given us on Monday in writ. The oaths whereby our countrymen in England and Ireland has been pressed against our covenant, are declared illegal, and persons imprisoned therefor to be released; assurance made, that no illegal oath hereafter shall be urged, and oaths approved by parliament only to be urged on these our countrymen who shall be ordinary residents in England or Ireland. About the fourth, of the incendiaries, the last four days have been spent. Our method in it was syllogistick: We proponed first a major, "Whoever shall be found incendiaries, that they may be proceeded against by the two
"parliaments

“parliaments *respectivè*.” When this was made first, we were ready to assume, “But so it is, we instruct, by such
 “and such reasons, that the Archbishop of Canterbury
 “and the Lieutenant, that the Treasurer, Register, Pre-
 “fident, Balcanqual, are such.” The conclusion of the sentence we were to leave to the two parliaments. As yet we have not gone beyond the major. Beside all privy dealing, the King one day sent for our noblemen, another for all our commissioners together, the third for Rothes alone, wherein he dealt so effectually as might be, to pass over this article, or to refer it to himself; but when their instructions, and a thousand reasons, did permit them here to grant nothing, the King in his paper gave answer to the demand, that he would not hinder his parliaments to do justice against any subject who should be found guilty; but withal gave in a paper, wherein he required, that Traquair, being his Commissioner, might have his cause discussed before himself. We gave in our reasons in writ why with this we could not be satisfied. The King’s reply will be given this afternoon. We doubt not, whatever fashries Traquair put us to, but to obtain all at once. If the major were made once sure, then our Scottish incendiaries would quickly be sent home to our parliament. Balcanqual gave in a supplication to the King and the Lords, requesting he might be heard before them to produce his commands from the King and council for the writing of that book, and the particular warrants he had for the passages questioned therein: but our commissioners would look neither upon the paper nor the man. Our pieces against Canterbury and Lieutenant are now ready. The first moulding of both were laid on me. When all had perused the two draughts, and our friends in the lower house considered them, the one was given to Mr Henderson, the other to Loudon and Mr Archibald, to abridge and polish. Both we and the English are panting for these two processes. The parliament held off to meddle with these two men till we be ready to join. It was resolved, that the petition against Episcopacy, root and branch, should be delayed till first we had gotten Canterbury down, and the parliament had removed all the rest out of the house, by a premunire for their canons: yet we are so long detained by Traquair’s fencing for his own head ere we can come to the minor, where Canterbury stands to be concluded, as we hope, in a deep bocardo,
 that

that the peoples patience could no longer keep in ; so yesterday a world of honest citizens, in their best apparel, in a very modest way, went to the House of Commons, sent in two aldermen with their petition, subscribed, as we hear, by 15,000 hands, for removing Episcopacy, the service-book, and other such scandals, out of their church. It was well received. They were desired to go in peace, and to send some three or four of their number on Thursday night, to attend some answer against that time. We, God willing, will be in hands with his little Grace ; and sundry petitions of several shires, to every one whereof some thousands of hands are put, will be given in against Episcopacy. God speed all well. Never such a parliament in England : all is to be rectified ; for all is much out of right. The affairs of Scotland, those of Ireland, all their Courts at home, the Convocation, the High Commission, the Star-chamber, the King's-bench, the Universities, besides a huge number of particualar affairs, it is no marvel they proceed slowly. For our affairs they have granted two subsidies, about L. 200,000 Sterling for the present, mainly for the maintenance of our army. We are offended, that the money decreed, and daily pressed by us, and as oft promised by them, is yet gone away but in so small a proportion. They confess that army is their own, and a most happy mean for all their desires ; that the dissolving of it were their ruin ; that for the keeping of it on foot, and all our bygone losses, what would they not do ? Yet we tell them all is but fair words. They, by their ways, have oft put us near extreme necessity, either to disband or plunder : yet, if it may please God to give our poor soldiers a little patience, we hope all shall go well. For the Irish affairs, ten of their commissioners are come. Sir James Montgomery, and the other two of the thirteen, are behind a little for the gleaning of grievances. In June, in the second session of their parliament, a petition was granted, that the collecting of the six subsidies, which the first session had granted for the Scottish war, should be gathered after the old fashion ; not that a certain rate should be put upon every committee, as the Lieutenant had done in the former parliament, and, at the council-table, after the rising of the first session, had decreed should now be. The cancelling of that council-act did pass, and was registered in the parliament-books of that second session. The Lieutenant, the 9th of November, two days before his delivery

to the black rod, moved the King to write over to the parliament of Ireland, then in their third session, that their zeal to his service, which they kythed in the beginning, was now decreasing; that he, the Deputy Wentford, advanced from a mean man by the Lieutenant to that degree, to tear out of that parliament-book that act for gathering of the subsidies made in their second session, and to revive that cancelled act of council, and prorogue their farther sitting till Easter, when the Lieutenant should come over for righting all was wrong. Before the coming of this letter, Deputy Wentford had adjourned the parliament. Yet the House of Commons held fast their doors, and would hear of no advertisement of prorogation, till their remonstrance was drawn up, and eight commissioners for presenting it; thereafter they were content to dissolve. The Deputy, before some of both houses, as the King commanded, tore out the act before named; discharged, upon their allegiance, any commissioners to go for England. But, behold! so soon as he heard of the Lieutenant's commitment to the black rod, he fell sick; and when Mr Scinder came over to bring Ratcliff and King; for King is the reporter that Ratcliff vented the Lieutenant's intention, by his Irish and English army, to reform the government of England, and put all simply under the King's free-will; so soon as the Deputy saw the articles of the lower house, and heard of the Lieutenant's taking, he swooned, and to-morrow died. The Lieutenant had obtained from the King his house and royal stuff in the tower. All came to him who pleased. But after Windebanks' escape, our good kind countryman, the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir William Balfour, was sent for by the lower house, and enjoined to keep his prisoner straiter: so now he has but the liberty of three rooms, in the outmost whereof there is a guard. No man at all comes to him but by the lieutenant's special permission. Since he heard of Ratcliff prisoned, and Wentford's death, his two stoops, his heart is a little fallen. The next week he may be processed. The convocation meets twice a-week, but does nothing at all; for as yet they have got no commission from the King to do any business. We hear there was some thirty of them well minded for removing of Episcopacy, and many more for paring of bishops nails, and arms too. Montague and Manwaring do not compear; but will be sent for. Never a word of corrupted doctrine in the convocation. The
less

less good they intend, the better; the more easily they will be got overthrown; for both the convocation and high commission, star-chamber, and official courts, are hoped to be got abolished. Sundry country-ministers who meet with us, are on a remonstrance; to which the Self-conviction, as they confess, gives them much help, which, in name of the church, shall shortly be presented against the bishops.

The separatists are like to be some help to hold up the bishops through their impertinency; but we trust, by God's blessing on our labour, to prevent that evil. This week they have been most in hand with the judges and Lord Keeper. They have found their sentence for ship-money to the King illegal; they have passed an act of the property of goods, so that no imposition shall be laid on them but by act of parliament; a favour that, as I heard a nobleman who understood well, they should have bought with L. 100,000 Sterling for twenty years to come; yea, the King, to pass them the ship-money alone, required in the late parliament, as the least he could moderate, L. 1,200,000 Sterling. This much they are in our debt in this one particular. In their printed ballads they confess no less; for the binding word is ever, "Gramercy, good Scot." There is a committee for processing the judges, and my Lord Keeper Finch, for their unjust decreet. That night, when the Keeper was most pressed, he came to the King, and on his knees requested, as the greatest favour he could do him, that his Majesty would take no notice of his trouble, but permit him and the parliament to deal it betwixt them, that he might stand or fall as his innocency might be. This noble courage was thought a better policy to engage the King, and obtain favour from the parliament, than all the prayers which Canterbury, Traquair, and the rest, make night and day to the King for their protection. The committee for the universities have sent some with a warrant, both to Cambridge and Oxford, to receive most particular informations of all their new doctrines and superstitions there. The charge is given to men who will not flight it. Bastwick came in to the city this day eight days; 27 coaches and 1000 horse for his convoy; trumpets sounding from divers windows, numbers of torches about him, and a world of people on all the way. Canterbury will stand alone in the privy chamber; and when no man will draw

near him, go his way alone. The bishops will go through Westminster-hall, as they say, and no man cap to them. God is making here a new world; no fear yet of raising the parliament so long as the lads about Newcastle lie still. God is wonderfully gracious; he would be earnestly fought to. All this happiness may soon vanish; and a gloom of the King's brow would disperse this feeble people for any thing yet we see, if the terror of God and us affrayed not their enemies, if help from God and us did not help to continue their courage. I trust, dear brethren, ye will pray for me and for the cause, and our poor army, and this parliament; and will not be negligent to provide for my sweet people. The Lord be with them and you.

Your Brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

23. *Mr Baillie to the Presbytery of Irvine. London, Dec. 28.*

Reverend and Dear Brethren,

— For our publick affairs I can write little more than in my last, December 19. We stick yet on the 4th demand of incendiaries. All the papers that passed on that article I have sent to my Lady Montgomery. You will see in the general answers, our replies, and their duplies, that fain they would shift and elude us with generalities. We suspected much Traquair as the author of these seditions; but on Wednesday, before the English Lords, on his knees, he craved of the King to be sent down to Scotland, and permitted to abide the sentence of the parliament, whatever it might be, and with it rather to fall in any inconvenience, than to be reputed an author of division betwixt his Majesty and his people. It seems, that the Lieutenant's letters from the Tower procures the length of this article; for his head, and the rest of the English incendiaries, depend upon it. If the King declare to us what we urge, that these whom our parliament shall sentence he shall not protect, maintain, nor countenance, a clear preparative passes for their undoing; albeit it is said the English resolve, and have told the King as much, as, upon the neck of their parliament's sentence, they mind not to delay execution. On Thursday, 24th, the King sent, for a final answer, a paper, showing, that he was confident the parliament should not proceed with these who were called incendiaries; that he and they should
fully

fully agree ; and that before it were not reason to press him to any prelimitation of his justice or mercy. This did not please us ; so in word we (that is, our commissioners ; you know I am none ; but it is my ordinary style, for shortness, so to write) did shew the English, that their commission was from the King and the parliament, and we did treat with them in that quality ; therefore we required them to communicate that long-debated difference with the parliament, being hopeful, that that wise council would advise his Majesty to grant us our demands, as carrying evident reason. This was our last and sure refuge.

On Friday, Saturday, Sunday, being the great joy-days, was a vacation both to parliament and treaty. Monday at two o'clock was appointed for our treaters to meet, and to-morrow the parliament to sit down again. For all that, this day we had no meeting. The reason, I hear, was, that the King, seeing the difference would go to the English parliament, was drawn a step farther, and had prepared for answer a promise in this article to follow the parliament of Scotland's advice ; but the English Lords, being weary with this longsome debate, told his Majesty, that we would not be content with that fair general ; and if the questions went to the houses of parliament, doubtless all there would be for the Scots demand. The King therefore took it to his advisement till to-morrow what to say farther. If this were closed, the first demand, upon the restitution of the ships and goods, it is hoped there will not be any stay ; but on the 6th, for our charges, much debate is feared before the parliament be brought to the general grant ; then the particular sum, then the persons payable, then the security. The reasons of the demand, drawn first by Mr Archibald, and then by Rothes, and lastly perfected by Mr Archibald in a very pretty paper, I hope to send it with the next. They are now in the hands of the English, our friends, to be helped as they shall think fit. The seventh demand, about the dismantling of Berwick and Carlisle, disfurnishing them of soldiers, will not be long, as it is hoped, stuck upon ; but the last, about a solid peace and union of the nations, so far as can be, will not fail to draw long ; for here will fall in a number of articles of most weighty consideration. The English, of purpose, would be glad to draw all out to the full ; for they have much to do. The displanting the court, the overthrow of Episcopacy, the planting of the
court,

court, the settling a new government in the church, the putting down a world of publick grievances, the satisfying of infinite private complaints; for the doing of these things, and many more, long time is required. So long as our army stands, it seems they will sit on all hazards; yet their greatest charges, L. 50,000 Sterling a-month for the armies, will force them to close one session, and end the most of their greatest affairs, that both armies may be dismissed: but this cannot be in haste. The Lieutenant is not yet heard; many of his witnesses are examined; his process is daily going on. Matters are making ready for Canterbury's challenge, that one of thir days he may be delivered by James Maxwell to Sir William Balfour. What we have libelled against both, my Lady Montgomery will shew it. We are not yet called to give in our proofs; but are ready. It is expected Collington will be challenged next; if he follow not the Secretary and Keeper to France, he may bear the Lieutenant company on Tower-hill; so there will few of that faction remain. Vane is but new come on, and not much complained of. Wren, Coofins, and Heylin, are under bail. Pierce Bishop of Bath is fled. Bishops Montague and Manwaring are sent for; as also Potter, and moe of their doctors. The city's petition for rooting out of Episcopacy, at which are above 15,000 hands, Lady Montgomery will shew it you, it will be answered in time. Dr Downing my familiar friend's very quick discourse, my Lord Eglington will communicate. You see what liberty is here, when such books dare bear the names of the author, printer, and seller. The convocation-house of bishops and clerks meet once a-week, but never say or do any thing: they have not yet any commission, either from God or the King, to do any good, and Satan's hands are bound in this season of the Lord's favour from doing any evil. The lower house have condemned all their canons, both old and new, and so have cut the cords of their Egyptian yoke. The Episcopal clergy are made vile in the eyes of all. Manifold most shameful practices, of harlotry, drunkenness, and all profaneness, are found in their hands. They are like to contribute as much to their own ruin as the abbots and friars did of old to theirs. Balcanqual is thought a vile man. A short petition is formed by all the well-affected clergy, for the overthrow of Episcopacy; readily with the next you shall have it. It is in my Lady Montgomery's papers.

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It is now posting through the land for hands to make it stark. Against it will come back it will be a fortnight; at which time, a large remonstrance, by some dozen of hands chosen out of the whole number, will be ready, against the bishops corruptions in doctrine, discipline, life, and all. To these they confess the Self-conviction gives them good help. At that time the root of Episcopacy will be assaulted with the strongest blast it ever felt in England. Let your hearty prayers be joined with mine, and of many millions, that the breath of the Lord's nostrils may join with the endeavours of weak men to blow up that old gourd wicked Pak. The Primate of Ireland, and a great faction with him, will be for a limited good, and James Mitchell's chalked Episcopacy; but since, to this day, not one of these men have had so much grace as to open their mouth against any of the Canterburian abominations, which all the world here cries out upon, I trust they cannot thrive in any of their designs. There was some few from these of the new way, who are for the Independent congregations; but after much conference, thanks be to God, we hope they will join to overthrow Episcopacy, erect Presbytery government and assemblies, and, in any difference they have, to be silent, upon hope either of satisfaction when we get more leisure, or of toleration, on their good and peaceable behaviour. The far greatest part are for our discipline, for all the considerable parts of it: they will draw up a model of their own, with our advice, to be considered upon by commissioners of the church, and others appointed by parliament, and, if God shall bless this land, by these commissioners to be settled in every congregation at this extraordinary time, till afterward the church being constitute, a general assembly may be called to perfect it. At this time a general assembly would spoil all; the far most part of their clergy being very corrupt. If all this were done, we might be gone; for the rest, the parliament might be doing in other sessions as their latters. If the court and church were reformed, they are not much feared for breaking up of the parliament. The King's necessities are very great; all the monopolies and ship-monies are evanished, or going fast in smoke; beside his court, and that the Queen and her mother, and the rest of his children and sisters, his debts are huge. They speak of 30 or 40,000 pounds Sterling. All this must be defrayed; and the parliament
gives

gives fair words to find ways for all. Likely the bishopricks must make some help; for here the most of the wonted money is away; little had this three years; the fear of the war made all the bankers transport what they were able. The four subsidies already granted will be little enough for the armies ere they dissolve. I hope gratitude will make them make for other six for our charges. I know not if any parliament before has gone beyond ten subsidies. Whence then shall the other thirty come for the King's debt? It is two o'clock; my candle is also failing.

For foreign news, no gazettes are printed this week. The Earl of Brederod, and other two ambassadors, are come over from the States, to suit the King's third daughter for the young Prince of Orange. The second was buried since we came. The rebellion of Catalonia goes on. John of Braganza is crowned King of Portugal. Banier and the most of the Swedish army are making fast to their winter-quarters in Bohemia. France has taken huge sums from all his subjects, for the wars in the spring. The Lord be with you all, dear brethren. Much need had you to stir up yourselves and your congregations both to praise and pray. This day Alderman Pennington, with a number of his brethren, came, and some also of the town-captains, and some from the Inns of court, to our lodging for complimenting our commissioners. He told them roundly, that they were aughtin us the redemption of their liberties, estates, religion, and laws. One Ward, in a Latin lecture in Sion college, at our first coming, had railed on us as rebels; upon our complaint he was suspended, and yesterday made his publick recantation in the church. The Bishops of Glasgow, Brechin, and Aberdeen, are here in great poverty and misery, with their families. Our fugitive clergy are in very evil case. These few who have got places have but poor things; and these with the hatred of all: the most can get nought. Mr Patrick Maxwell, for all the mountains of gold he hoped for, is yet waiting for a fellowship in Cambridge, which when got, is no great matter. The Lord, in his own time, close his own work of huge mercy, according to the fair appearances and great hopes of all his saints here. The Lord be with you.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

24. *Mr Baillie to the Presbytery of Irvine. London,*
Jan. 29. 1641.

Reverend and Dear Brethren,

— Our first five demands being obtained, our great fear, and our enemies greatest hope, was upon the sixth, of our charges since the late pacification. Great care was used to set it down in so smooth, and yet so effective terms as was possible. Rothes, Henderson, and Johnston, our chief friends of the English of both houses in parliament, did ripely advise on all the words and syllables, till at last Mr Alexander put it in that form I have sent you: it was so composed of reason, that the King, when he saw it, had no farther hopes that the English and we should discord upon that demand. The particular count was given in with the demand. A scroll of L. 250,000 Sterling, which we put out of count 514,000 pound Scots, whereof we offered to bear ourselves such a proportion as the parliament should find reasonable, or we able. The particular account was delivered by us to none, for causes, but these whom it concerned. The reasons of the demand were put in so many hands as we were able to provide with copies. When it was given to the Peers, Bristol, their speaker, gave in a very captious question in writ, Whether our demand was positive; or we intended, by our count, to obtain some supply from the parliament? Our commissioners, after a little advisement in their retiring chamber, gave so wise an answer in writ, that Bristol would gladly have taken back his proposition; but this we refused: so both the question and answer were subscribed by the clerk. Sundry days thereafter were spent, Bristol pressing oft with more vehemence than we thought was needful, the casting of the 6th demand to the last place; but this indiscreet, yet peremptor expression, we refused it at last. Bristol set down his proposition in writ, backed with the subscriptions of the English peers, of their desire to us, to go on in the mean time to the article of the peace, while the parliament might have time to consult how to satisfy our 6th demand. With great care an answer was penned by Mr Henderson to that very dangerous proposition. You have it in the inclosed paper. All was delivered to the parliament: both the houses being

called together, Bristol made a very pertinent and favourable report of all had past, and by this good office put away that suspicion which we began to conceive of his too hot reasoning against us in the treaty. Mandeville read, with the best tone he could, the reasons of our demands: Paget and Wharton, our good friends, read our two answers to Bristol's two propositions: all was received in silence, with some favour by the far most part. The greatness of the matter itself, and many other weighty affairs, hindered the parliament to make any conclusion therein; so our treaters had a vacation: yet were they not idle, but very diligent in soliciting and informing the members of the houses. Our enemies were not idle here; divers in both houses were not a little averse from this demand, and burst out into words in several places of dislike; yet God kept us in this difficulty. The matter coming to the lower house on Thursday the 21st, it was much debated *pro* and *contra*, and referred to the next day. At which time, after some hot reasoning by our sure friends, it was voiced, first, that our demands should be voiced; then that it should be voiced instantly; and, thirdly, by the most part it was carried, that a supply, and sustenance for our losses and charges, should be granted to us, reserving the measure to their farther consideration. Of this we are very glad, and bless God for his favour; for this all men took for the greatest difficulty we had. So our treaty will go on. Our commissioners and the peers must consider on the quantity of what cannot presently be given, which the parliament thereafter will cognosce upon. An unhappy overture of Traquair, our constant good friend, that in Scotland, from the King and the bishops rents, he could shortly make up L. 100,000 Sterling, will do us no good. We fear L. 300,000 shall be the most we shall obtain. We hoped that in this month of the treaty, we might have closed; but now it seems not possible. Both the English and we had a great mind to have done so, we being wearied with stay, they with the charges of the army; but such a world of great affairs being yet in their hands, and the special articles of our treaty falling in the last head, it seems impossible, before the 15th of February, to get the half discussed, yea the third.

The parliament being sensible of their spending of time, without great dispatch, made an ordinance, that no private affair should be taken in till the more publick were brought

brought to a conclusion. These publick they expressed in some twelve or fifteen heads. The Lieutenant and the Irish affairs, Canterbury and the Canons, the Keeper and the Judges, Windebank and the Papists, Goring and the Monopolies, &c. When these were closed, they intended to close a session, and dismiss the armies. Sundry of the great affairs are closed, and the rest are coming on thick. For the secret reason why the Lieutenant and Canterbury are so long delayed, some guess one thing, some another. The most think, that more by witness long ago is deponed than might take many heads; yet they desire more, since more be daily coming in. Some think, their death would facilitate the overthrow of Episcopacy, and the thorough reformation of church and state. Others fear, that divers great men, if these two were execute, would be freed of their fear, and become hopeful of their place, and desirous more to pacify the irritated prince, and to comply with his desire in keeping up bishops and other things: so that the House, of purpose, keeps these men alive, to make their fear, so long as they live, a band to knit all together for the common good. However, very shortly the Lieutenant is expected on the stage, and the Bishop at his back. The other day it past the lower house unanimously, that they should have annual parliaments, or at least triennial parliaments; and if the King did not call them, the sheriff should give out letters for chusing commissioners in the shires against such a day. If the sheriff did summon, if the persons chosen did not compear at the time and place named, it should be felony, loss of life and lands; that for fifty days, upon no discharge, they should rile. A terrible act! Nothing yet done in Scotland that seems to strike so much at royal prerogative. It is thought it will pass the higher house also, albeit with some more difficulty. A number of pamphlets come out daily about Episcopacy; some to hold them up, some to bring them down: how this matter will go, the Lord knows; great hopes, great fears on all sides. The godly here, in great numbers, meet oft in private houses, for in publick they dare not, fast and pray, and hear gracious sermons, for whole days, sundry times in the week. Truly these hearty and humble prayers are our greatest confidence; in the adverse party we hear of little devotion in the best of them.

Saturday 23. This day fundry things considerable past. The ministers petition, which I sent you before, subscribed with above 1800 ministers hands, was given in to the lower house, by sixteen of the eldest and gravest of the number, together with their remonstrance of all the corruptions of that church, in doctrine, discipline, life, and all, in twenty sheets of paper. The petition was read and well taken. The remonstrance is to be read on Monday, a day of fasting in private, over all the city, and many more places; for that day is appointed to consider the hard question of Episcopacy. This day the new Keeper, Littleton, rode in state, as the fashion is of their installment, to Westminster: he was before Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Banks, the King's Attorney, has got his place. Herbert, the Queen's Solicitor, has succeeded to Banks. Gardner, the Recorder of London, to Herbert. Few are pleased with their promotions. It is expected the King, by the Marquis's advice, shall make a better choice of his other officers; that Bedford shall be Treasurer, &c. This day the King called both the houses to the Banqueting-room at Whitehall. He had a speech, which shortly I hope to get, encouraging them to go on to help the abuses that were both in church and state, referred to their consideration; the providing for of the ships, the walls of the kingdom; the hastening the close of the treaty, that armies might not lie in the bosom of the land. Their bill anent parliaments he liked in substance; but not in some circumstances. He could not endure that his prerogative in calling of parliaments, should be put in the hands of sheriffs, constables, and he knew not whom: but by a message on Monday he hoped herein to give them all contentment. Also about the motion of removing bishops, he told them expressly, he would never permit that state to be put down, or removed from the parliament. Abuses, in their government, he would be content were rectified and reduced to the order in use in Queen Elizabeth's time; but discharged them to make any farther motion. To this part of the speech was no hum; no applause, as to the rest. This declaration will do no evil. Many who inclined to keep bishops, being put out of state, and brought low, while they see they must continue Lords of Parliament, will join themselves more heartily to these who will essay to draw up their roots. At the desire of the English ministers, Mr Henderson has written some very good reasons for their removal

removal out of the church: they are printed this day; readily ye may get them with this post. I mind to give in my writ also, in my supplement of the Self-conviction, which at once possibly you may see. An old Jesuit, who was many years ago condemned for seducing of people here, was sent away, with certification, if he returned, he should be execute, was lately taken, and for new crimes condemned. Yesterday he should have been hanged for example; the King reprieved him; at which the city grudges, that in face of parliament justice against Jesuits should be stopt. They had promised to give this day L. 60,000 sterling for the army's provision, but now they refuse. The houses took it to their consideration, informed the King: it is hoped he will deliver the Jesuit over to justice.

In divers churches the people raised psalms to sing out the service, and in some they pulled down the rails before the altars. Some of the separation being found at their conventicles, spake disgracefully of the King, parliament, and laws: of these things the Bishop of London, the last Saturday, the 16th, made a grievous complaint in the higher house. Bishop Hall could not remember his shameful putting to the bar for the looseness of his tongue upon my Lord Sey the last parliament, but behoved again to essay the refusing of his advice the other day, by the means of some Lords there, was the cause of that disorder. They pressed the Bishop to name the man: he named Mandeville: presently he was put to the bar; and his brother Lincoln behoved to put a jest upon him heavier than his censure, That the acknowledgement of his fault behoved to be formed to him in write, lest his rhetorick in his confession should aggravate his fault, as it had done before. All this cannot make that man quiet. This week he has put out a remonstrance to the parliament, for keeping up of bishops and liturgies, without a word of any connection. The King likes it well, but all else pities it as a most poor piece. The higher house also made an order, which was read in the churches, that none presume, at their own hand, to alter any customs established by law: this procured ordinance does not discourage any man.

Coofins yesterday, for all his devotions, was pronounced incapable of any office in England, and charge appointed to be made against his life for his contumelious speeches

speeches of the King's authority. L. 24,000 Sterling was decerned to be paid by him; and the high commissioners of York to smart for his losses and charges in the prison. There is a bitter book came yesterday from Ireland to our hands, against the assembly of Glasgow; it is thought by Bishop Maxwell: it may cost him and some others dear: if we had leisure, it would quickly be answered. The ambassadors of Holland, Brederod Earl of Wian, Aerson the Secretar of the States, and Sommerdyke, one of the Lords, with the ordinar ambassador, were received in the Banqueting-house by the King, Queen, Prince, Duke of York, two daughters, and a huge number of noblemen and gentlemen. Aerson made a long and eloquent harangue in French: though I was very near, yet I did not hear distinctly. They have had fundry audiences before the council of England. It is the King's eldest daughter whom the States suit for the young Prince of Orange. It is thought he may get her. They speak of L. 30,000 of jointure; whileas Palatine got with Princess Elisabeth but ten. The young Prince is expected shortly: Durham-house is preparing for her. —

Our post has stayed some days longer than we expected. We had no meeting in our treaty this two or three days, for we pressed hard not to proceed till the quantity were once named. This at last, in both houses of parliament, is yielded unto. We expect, within a day or two, the houses determination of a particular sum, which may do us all good. The matter of the Jesuit draws deeper than any man expected. The man is an apostate, he had been a preacher at London, he was banished before. The King reprieving of him, being condemned in the time of parliament, was taken by all to have been done of purpose for a preparative to save the life of the Lieutenant and Canterbury; therefore, albeit there did never any Jesuit die before in England for religion alone; yet both the houses have consented to petition the King this day, that he may be executed, also that severe order may be taken with all the Papists in the land, of whom the parliament before did not take much notice. Yesterday they called before them four of the most noted Papists here, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Thomas Winter the Queen's Secretar, the sons of Digby and Winter, the powder-plotters, Walter Montacute, Mandeville's brother, and Sir Basil Brook. They have confessed their collection of contribution from the Papists of England to the King, against us: this

this day they are to appear again. It is thought it will lie heavy on them all. The Queen is speaking of going to France, to the baths of Lorrain, for her health, and for reconciling her mother with her brother. However, the parliament's actions puts no small discontent and fear to her stomach. Queen-mother has got little thir three months: her plate and jewels are selling; no marvel she should write, as they say, humble letters of submission to her son, to live in France, where and how he pleases. Yesterday Mr Pym gave in to the higher house, in twenty sheets of paper, or thereabout, the charge of the Lieutenant: a world of foul points are proven. Before it can be written over in parliament, as the fashion is, it will be Tuesday; then it is like he shall be called, get two or three days to answer, and then be execute. While his head go, the Bishop is like to dwell still with Maxwell, under his black rod, but no longer. The King's heart is no whit changed from these men; but we trust time will let him see the truth. We pray God, in the mean time, save him from courses that he and we all may repent. The ministers petition and remonstrance is remitted till Monday. I think it must be delayed longer. There was a contrary petition drawn up for Episcopacy, which I have also sent you, and the King's speech. Hands in the city were getting to it, as they say, chiefly by Pembroke the Chancellor's means: but it is thought they have let it fall, in despair of success. There is a petition to the lower house, without the knowledge, so far as I hear, of any of us, albeit all of us be well pleased therewith, that none of our fugitives bruik benefit in England, till first they have satisfied our church. This bill no doubt will pass. No more for the present comes in my mind. The Lord be with you all. Dear Brethren, you will have a care of my desolate flock; and at thir times, if ever any, you will be diligent to stir up yourselves and your flocks to wrestling with God, for an happy end of all our hopes, cares, and travels.

Your brother and servant,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

25. *Mr Baillie to his Wife. London, Feb. 6. 1641.*

My Heart,

—This day the treaty is prolonged another month,
from

from the midst of February to the midst of March. We hope ere that be ended, that all our affairs shall be closed, and the greatest ado of the English parliament also, to their great joy and ours. The other day our sum was determined; all that past in that different demand, I sent it inclosed in my last letters; with the next I shall send the same to my Lord in print; for our charge against Canterbury and the Lieutenant, with our sixth demand, is cast in print; but this carrier is not fit for it. Thou hast here inclosed the happy closure, which is not printed. Our commissioners strongly solicited all their friends in both houses. We had fundry opposites; yet when it came to voicing, not many kythed. L. 300,000 Sterling, 5,400,000 merks Scots, is a pretty sum in our land, beside the 1,800,000 merks for our army these last four months, and L. 25,000 Sterling for the fifth month coming. Yet the hearty giving of it to us, as to their brethren, refreshed us as much as the money itself. Our seventh article, for recalling all the King's proclamations and declarations against us, will be passed without difficulty in a day or two. So we come to the last, anent a solid peace betwixt the nations. This we will make long or short, according as the necessities of our good friends in England require; for they are still in that fray, that if we and our army were gone, they yet were undone. The Lieutenant last Saturday was sent for: he came from the Tower by water, with a guard of musquetiers; the world wondering, and at his going out and coming in, shouting and cursing him to his face. Coming in to the higher house, his long charge in many sheets was read to him: for a while he sat on his knees before the bar; thereafter they caused him sit down at the bar; for it was eight o'clock before all was read. He craved a month to answer. They ordained him to return on Monday, with the reason of that his demand. On Monday he sent his petition in writ, alledging the gout for his absence. Wednesday come a fortnight was appointed him to say, by word or writ, for himself what he is able. What the event will be, we will then know. Till he be at a point, Canterbury will rest under the black rod. On Wednesday both the houses were called to receive the King's answer anent the Jesuit; the copy of the speech we have not yet got. It has given very great satisfaction to all; with much humming was it received. He told, that the reprieving of
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that Jesuit was not for affronting justice, or staying the execution of any law; but because, in his father's and Queen Elifabeth's reign, no person had been execute for their conscience alone: however, he permitted the man simply to their discretion, being confident they were wise to consider what might be the consequences of his execution in foreign parts, where these of our religion were under the power of foreign princes. He protested his own sincere affection towards the true religion, promised by present proclamation to banish all priests out of the land within a month, under pain of death to all that should return or remain. He gave assurance, that none at all should be permitted to come to the Queen's chapel, but alone their domestick servants. The Pope's agent with his Queen, he assured, should quickly be dismissed, and none again be received. On Thursday she sent a gracious message to the lower house, that was also very well taken, excusing herself, that, through ignorance of their law, she had moved these of her religion to contribute some monies for the King's affairs; assuring she would do so no more. Also she conceived, that the liberty of her religion contracted to her, permitted her to keep open intelligence with the Pope, and to admit to her chapel those of her own profession: but since she found them herewith offended, promised it should be so no more. Her voyage to France for ten months, to preveen a consumption already begun, and the marriage of Lady Mary with the Prince of Orange, is more and more spoken of; and many begin to think, that possibly both their intentions are real. All here, praised be God, goes according to our prayers, if we would be quit of bishops; about them we are all in perplexity. We trust God will put them down; but the difficulty to get all the tapouns of their roots pulled up are yet insuperable by the arm of man. The deans and prebends, and other non-preaching ministers rents, will be taken away; for otherwise the country will never be able to supply the King's necessity, and bear their other burdens; but these superfluous rents will do all abundantly. Yesterday an order was given out to put all churchmen out of the commission to the justices of the peace. The ministers remonstrance these days bygone hath been read in the house by parts; for it is long. They desire not an answer in haste; for they fear their friends in the house be not strong enough to pull up that old oak, but many

tears here are weekly sown for that end. We hope an harvest of fruits are coming; we pray, preach, and print against them what we are able most freely. Many a fore thrust get both men and women thronging in to our sermons. This day Mr Henderson had a sweet conference with the King their alone for the helping of our universities from the bishops rents. I hope it shall be obtained. A pity but that sweet prince had good company about him. We hear no farther news from abroad than I wrote to my Lord; only it is said, that Baneer is besieging the Emperor in Ratibon with a mightier army than the enemy is like in haste to oppose.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

26. *Mr Baillie to the Presbytery of Irvine. London, Feb. 28.*

Reverend and Dear Brethren,

—The closure of the sixth demand, and things that passed that week, I sent home in a letter to my wife; with the which you are before this, I hope, acquainted. A stationer has made bold, as all things now are printed, those our charges against Canterbury and the Lieutenant, with all that passed on our sixth demand, which here I send you, with two of the last Gazettes for foreign occurrences. There is a world of pamphlets here besides, where-with I may not burden the post. Our seventh demand was passed without much question: we would have had presently all the proclamations, declarations, and pamphlets, revoked; but they would have us delay till the full closure of the treaty; to this we acquiesced as reason. They would have it reciprocal. This we thought dangerous; but we were content, if they would be pleased, to make the Scots parliament judge what writs of ours should be revoked; for we knew of none; and our protestations being alone for our justification, behoved to stand: to this they acquiesced. You may see the demand and answer here inclosed.

For the eighth great demand some days were spent in preparation. The first article of it, concerning the gar-risons and fortifications of Carlisle and Berwick, though it carried no difficulty, yet the peers finding, that all the articles of the eighth demand concerned the whole nation in all time coming, shewed they behoved, before any answer,
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to acquaint both the houses of parliament with all we proposed. So they intreated, that we might give in so much as we might together, that the parliament might not be too oft moved by too many several articles, which might be conjoined. The King and Bristol also much pressed, that we would give in all at once what we required in our last demand. But this being not possible for us, nor conducive for the ends of the English, who required no such haste, it was agreed we should give in so many of our articles on that demand at once, as might be a fit subject for the parliament's consideration and answer: so with the first we gave in the second. That dainty paper anent the King and Prince's residence with us at some times, you have it here inclosed. The truth is, although we had no hope to obtain much of that reasonable desire, yet it was thought meet to press it, to be a ground and means to obtain the rest we were to desire, as being too little a recompence for want of the King's person. The King was very well pleased with the motion; but the parliament appeared as if they had been much displeased: for their satisfaction, we gave in the last, here inclosed, as an explanation of our intention in this article. As yet the parliament has had no leisure to give us any answer; but we expect it this day. The last Tuesday, as I remember, the King came to the higher house in his robes. After he had remembered them of their slowness, and how little they yet had done in any thing concerning him, he declared his willingness to satisfy them in their desire of annual or triennial parliaments. So he desired the Lord Keeper to signify his pleasure anent that act, as it was conceived by both the houses. The way of conception I wrote in a former letter. The Keeper's speech was not long: *Le Roy veut* was all. This filled the houses and city with such joy, that they required permission, and obtained it, to express the sense of it by ringing of all their bells, above a thousand, and setting out their bonfires. But as no worldly joy is unmixed, so to-morrow there fell some discontentment betwixt the two houses. On Monday the Earl of Strafford had sent his petition to the higher house for some longer time. Lord Sey spake somewhat for the petition; but Essex against it. On Tuesday the lower house sent up a message by Mr Pym, requiring, that no more time might be granted. Notwithstanding, on Wednesday, when Strafford appeared, his gout and gravel, and pertinent speech,

but most of all his lawyers oath, that they had done all diligence to have their answers perfite, and that yet it lay not in their power for some days to come to have them in any readines; all this obtained him eight days more time. This grant did so extremely grieve the lower house, that they were near to have broken up, and give over all sitting, at least till Strafford were at an end. When that motion was laid by, they were near to a protestation against the higher house, as hurting the privileges of their house, by granting to any they had charged with high treason any delay of process, any benefit of counsel, or use of lawyers advice, any permission to answer by writ: yet they did not protest; only notified their grievances with great passion.

The Londoners, who had promised long ago L. 60,000 Sterling, and had it in readines, keep it still in hand. The Jesuit's reprieving was the first occasion; and yet when the King has given him over to their will, there is no more word of him. I think they shall dismiss him; and now, while they have satisfaction of Strafford, they will give no money. The English soldiers, we hear, plunder the country without reproof. The favour granted to Strafford is laid most on the back of the good Lord Sey. He indeed spoke most for it; but no doubt these who were most for granting him bygone courtesies, will be his smallest friends when he comes to judgement. The higher house, for satisfaction of the lower, sent to the Tower to advertise Strafford, that he come on Wednesday fully instructed; for no longer delay will be granted, upon any alledgeance. The week before there was a great commotion in the lower house, when the petition of London came to be considered. Lord Digby and Viscount Falkland, with a prepared company about them, laboured, by premeditate speeches, and hot disputes, to have that petition cast out of the house without a hearing, as craving the rooting out of Episcopacy against so many established laws. The other party was not prepared; yet they contested on together from eight in the morning to six at night. All that night our party solicited as hard as they could. Tomorrow some thousands of the citizens, but in a very peaceable way, went down to Westminster-hall to countenance their petition. It was voiced, Whether the petition should be committed, or Not? but, by thirty-six to thirty-seven voices, our party carried it, that it should be referred

ferred to the committee of religion; to which were some four or six added, young Sir Harry Vane, Mr Fynes, and some more of our firm friends. This committee was appointed to consider all the remonstrance, all that was in the London petition, or in any other petition from the country, and of all to make their report, without determining any thing; also they were discharged to meddle as yet with the question of removing the office. Before this committee, every other day, some eight or ten of the remonstrants appear. D. Burgess commonly is their mouth. We suspected him as too much Episcopal, and wished he had not been of the number; but he has such a hand among the ministry, and others, that it was not thought meet to discard him: yet he has carried himself so bravely, that we repent of our suspicions. The passages of the remonstrance that yet has been called for, he has cleared to the full contentment of all the committee, except Mr Selden, the avowed proctor for the bishops. How this matter will go, the Lord knows; all are for the erecting of a kind of presbytery, and for bringing down the bishops in all things, spiritual and temporal, so low as can be with any subsistence but their utter abolition, which is the only aim of the most godly, is the knot of the question; we must have it cut by the axe of prayer. God, we trust, will do it. The treatise I sent you, of the unlawfulness of a limited Episcopacy, is answered. They have set me on a reply, which I have now ended; readily you may see it in print, at once, with a new edition of the *Canterburian*, much augmented. Think not that any of us live here to be idle. Mr Henderson has ready now a short treatise, much called for, of our church-discipline. Mr Gillespie has the grounds of Presbyterian government well asserted; Mr Blair, a pertinent answer to Bishop Hall's remonstrance. All these are ready for the press. Dr Twisse, to our great comfort, is here turned a remonstrant. The convocation-men meet every Wednesday, and read their Latin litany, and so depart till the next week. They have yet got no commission from the King to meddle with any thing. Their motion to petition the parliament, that fifteen of them might be heard, to debate matters with fifteen of the remonstrant ministers, is vanished; as also the petition for upholding of the bishops is struck in the list; albeit a solid and pertinent answer to it by Mr Barrow and his colleague, with Mr Henderson's preface, is walking
up

up and down the earth, which here I send you. Dr Twisse, if there be any dispute, offers to be one. He is doubtless the most able disputer in England. We are in this point betwixt great hope and great fear; but faith helps the one, and diminishes the other. You had need then to assist us much by your earnest prayers, and the prayers of all the godly in your flocks. The matter will shortly come to some conclusion. All parties long to be at an end. If Strafford were once away, Canterbury will not stay. Then things will run; but if all can be done before the 15th of March, it is hard to say. The King has spoken at length with all our commissioners apart, very sweetly and pleasantly. Loudon and Johnston used great freedom, and were well understood. Rothes, Loudon, and Henderson, seem to have great favour. The Marquis rules all the roast, and is much commended by all. The last day seven of the English Lords, all commonwealth-men, were sworn privy counsellors: Essex, Hertford, Bedford, Bristol, Sey, Mandeville, and Saville. The peers required we might send for any of our nation we thought meet to be at the conclusion of the treaty, but especially Argyle. In this, I think, we shall do their desire. Some of the lower house have been instant with our commissioners to signify the truth concerning our fugitive ministers and regents, a roll of whom they sent to us; to whom they pressed us to add so many more as we know in the kingdom. Our advice was, that none should be troubled who would, under their hand, give some tolerable satisfaction to the next general assembly. It is like there shall be no more rest for those men in England and Ireland than in Scotland. An ordinance the other day passed both the houses, for dissolving presently the Irish army; for two more subsidies, beside the former four; for disarming the Papists. The Queen's voyage to France, and the marriage with Holland, yet holds. The combination of the Papists with Strafford's Irish army, to have landed, not in Scotland, but Wales, where the Earl of Worcester, a prime head of the Popish faction, had commission to receive them. These things are now more and more spoken of. Duke de Vanden, the Queen's base brother, for fear of the Cardinal, is here at court.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

27. *Mr Baillie to the Presbytery of Irvine. London,
Monday, March 15.*

Reverend and Dear Brethren,

THESE twenty days and above my mind did not serve me to write any thing to you, not so much for the multitude of affairs, whereof, believe me, I have had no scant ever since I came here, as that I expected every other week to see our main business come to some close, that so a man might have pronounced what was likely to have been the end of all these commotions; but because that week does not yet appear, lest ye be too long waiting for my letters, I do now force myself to write how things go for the present. The Marquis being thoroughly reconciled to the English, who not long ago were little better affected towards him than to the Lieutenant and Canterbury, found it meet to bring some of the chief of them upon the council. The first motion of it was bitterly rejected by the King; yet the Marquis, by his wisdom, brought him unto it: so, as I wrote before, seven of the most leading of the Lords, who were malecontent for the misgovernment of the bishops, were sworn counsellors: Bristol, Essex, Bedford, Hertford, Mandeville, Saville, and Sey. This, for two or three days, pleased all the world; and to whom was England so much obliged as to the Marquis, who had brought these men so near to the King whom the country did most affect? but incontinent some of these new counsellors were found to plead publickly for some delay to Strafford's process, and to look upon the Scots affairs not altogether so pleasantly as they wont. All began to turn their note, that it was rash imprudence so soon to put these men in possession of the honours which some of them were thought alone to seek. Our commissioners were deeply censured for advising the Marquis to promote these men untimeously, (albeit I heard Loudon deeply swear he never knew any such motion till it was ended): they were slandered also, as if they had been admitted counsellors of England and bedchamber-men, I mean Rothes and Loudon. A foolish fancy, which was never thought of, let be spoken. The Scots were every where said, for all their former zeal, to be so far broken by the King, that they were willing to pass from the pursuit of Canterbury and
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the Lieutenant, and Episcopacy in England. Some of our country, according to their natural faculty, were thought to be inventers and chief spreaders of these dangerous lies. The matter went on so far, that the Londoners, after the money was collected, refused to give one penny of it to our army. Affairs thus standing, our commissioners presently, with some piece of passion, caused Mr Henderson pen that little quick paper, proclaiming, against malice, the constancy of our zeal against Episcopacy, and the two incendiaries. This we gave in to the peers, requiring them with diligence to communicate it to the parliament. A copy of it fell in the stationer Mr Butler's hand, who put it to the press, and so through the city. The citizens were infinitely well pleased with it, their fainting courage returned. But Bristol, the speaker for the English peers of the treaty, was much displeased for our quarrelling of Episcopacy in England, and pressed us much to pass from this motion. When we persisted, he gave our paper to the King. To-morrow the King was enraged at it: but after, by reason, he was a little calmed; the paper in print being put in his hand, not by Bristol, as the word went, but by Holland, our good friend, minding, as we know all, no evil to us. The King was so inflamed as he was never before in his time for any other business; for the keeping up of Episcopacy in England, which we strove to have down, is the very apple of his eye. This fury for some days did in nothing relent; the printer was committed; the paper was an hundred times called seditious. The King told us we had in justice forefault our privileges. Our old friends, the new counsellors, spake nothing for us; our old enemies of the Popish and Episcopal faction set out their faces; many of whom we never doubted, joined with them to malign us; divers of our true friends thought us too rash, and though they loved not the bishops, yet, for the honour of their nation, they would keep them up rather than that we strangers should pull them down. That faction grew in a moment so strong, that in the very lower house we were made assured by the most intelligent of our fastest friends, they would be the greater party. This put us all in some piece of perplexity. Our army could not subsist without money; such a light accident had put all our enemies on their tip-toes, made some of our seeming friends turn their countenance, and many of our true friends to faint for fear. All this came justly upon us.

What you do there, I know not; but we here were fallen half asleep in a deep security, dreaming of nothing but a present obtaining of all our desires without difficulty. The commissioners had sent for Argyle to be at the end of the treaty. The Marquis had written for Lindsay. Almont had gotten a warrant to come up; but at once, by post upon post, we desired all to stay till a new advertisement. By this blast God wakened us; we fled to our wonted refuge, to draw near to God; the godly in the city, in divers private societies, ran to fasting and prayer. By these our old and best weapons we are beginning to prevail, praise be to his holy name. By earnest intreaty, the King was moved to hold in his proclamation, wherein he said, he would call in our printed paper as seditious. We gave in a mollifying explanation of our meaning; which, with the printed paper, I sent home in my last letter to Lady Montgomery. Here we were put in a new pickle. The English peers were minded to have printed our explanation. This doubtless this rash and ignorant people would have taken for a recantation of what we had printed before; so the last evil would have been worse than the first: but in the end of that explanation we had professed, that we had yet more to say to the parliament, according to our instructions, against Episcopacy; so before we had said all out, the King thought meet, neither to publish his proclamation, nor our explanation. Evil will had we to say out all our mind about Episcopacy, till the English were ready to join with us in that greatest of questions: but there was no remeid; the King urged that paper. Good Mr Alexander being somewhat grieved with the event of the former writ, set himself with the more diligence to the accurate framing of the next; and, after some days delay, gave out that most delicate expression of our desires of unity in the ecclesiastick government in all the King's dominions, which here I send you. Bristol was not well pleased with it, and the King worse: yet the former fury was past; neither was there here any provocation; for our desire is proponed in great modesty of speech, albeit with a mighty strength of unanswerable reasons. All that they replied, after some nights advisement, you may read in their short paper, desiring us to desist, and not to move the parliament in that matter. The reasons why we cannot acquiesce to their desire, but must have the parliament's answer, are to be presented in the treaty to-morrow; so we hope our paper shall

go to the houses one of thir days, who then will be in a pretty readines for it.

As for the English affairs, thus they stand. You heard in my former the great debate in the lower house, about the ministers remonstrance, and city's petition. Digby, the Viscount Falkland, and Sir Benjamine Ridiers, as you may read in their speeches here inclosed, one in print, two in writ, declaimed most acutely, as we could have wished, against the corruptions of bishops; but their conclusion was the keeping in of a limited Episcopacy. Learned Selden, and a great faction in the house, ran all their way. Yet God carried it against them, that not only the remonstrance, but also the city's petition, which required the rooting out of all Episcopacy, should be committed. The committee met thrice a-week: some sixteen of the remonstrant ministers attended them; they required satisfaction punctually in that head which concerned the government. It seems the complaints against the doctrine, the worship, and other things, were so clear, that they needed no farther probation. The ministers, by their speaker, D. Burges, gave to the committee full contentment, and so much the greater by my Lord Digby and Mr Selden's frequent opposition; the citizens also made good all the parts of their petition, which the committee required to be proven. All this, after long time, being done, Mr Carew, who was in the chair of that committee, made a favourable report to the house, That they had found the bishops sole ordination and jurisdiction, their intermeddling with secular affairs, their too great rents, and many other things concerning them, to be true grievances. Here it was where the better side bestirred themselves, and God strangely assisted them, to propone the rooting out of the bishops had been by plurality of voices to have established them. They therefore resolved to proceed *ordine resolutivo*, to take down the roof first to come to the walls, and, if God would help, not to stay till they razed the foundation: However to go on so far as was possible; leaving, without any legal confirmation, what now they cannot come at till a better time. On Tuesday the 9th, as I remember, they gave them their first wound: after a long debate, at last unanimously, not one contradicting, the lower house decreed the higher house, to move by bill to take from them voice in parliament. The next day they did the same for the Star Chamber,

Chamber, High Commission, Council, and all other secular courts. One of thir days they are to cast down their cathedral, deanries, and prebendaries; also to spoil them of their usurped ordination and jurisdiction, to erect presbyteries in all the land, and distribute, in an equal proportion, the rents among all the parishes for preaching ministers. These things being concluded below, as it is expected they shall be unanimously, let Slydan and some few others gnash their teeth as they will; all will be cast in one bill, and be given in to the higher house, where it is hoped it will get a good hearing, when Episcopacy is made a poor plucked crow: whether our paper and the city's, and many other, will at this time get the neck of it clean thrown off, only God knows. We are somewhat hopeful, and would be more, if more earnest prayers were made to God for that effect. The bishops, to save the life of their office, have invented a trick, which we trust shall irritate the lower house the more against them. They have moved the higher house to appoint a committee for religion, to consider both of innovations, and what of the old is meet to be reformed, consisting of eight or ten Earls, as many Lords, and as many Bishops, with power to the Bishop of Lincoln, who shall sit in the chair of that committee, to summon, against Friday, some of those who are reputed the most able and orthodox divines of the land, viz. the Primate of Armagh, Prideaux, Ward, Bromnerick, Holsworth, Featly, Halket, Westfield; and of the Remonstrants, Twisse, Burges, Young; our learned countryman, White, Marshall, and Hill, to be present and give their advice. It is expected that this will be a spur to the Commons, not by their accustomed slowness to suffer their committees to be prevented, and so frustrate, by this new devised one.

But that which is the great *remora* to all matters is the head of Strafford: as for poor Canterbury, he is so contemptible that all casts him out of their thoughts, as a pendicle at the Lieutenant's ear. The charge which the House of Commons gave in the House of Peers against both, you have here in print. So great dealing in this long delay of time has been used for Strafford, that himself and his friends became insolently confident of his escaping at last with life: yet their courage is somewhat cooled, beholding, on Saturday last, after long, sharp, and dangerous debates, the houses well near fully agreed,

that on his trial both the houses should sit together in the large outer hall of Westminster; that the house shall sit there, not as a house, with their speaker, but as a committee, without their speaker, to remove when they will to their own house; that they shall manage the process and witnesses as they find meet; that for matter of fact there shall be no counsel; that in matter of right, when his counsel shall interpret a law against their mind, that in that case they will retire to their house; and being undoubtedly conjunct makers of laws with the Peers, they will be also conjunct interpreters of every controverted law. Mr Stroud, the other day, fell on a motion, to which the most did greedily grip, that is like to end the longsome debates about Strafford's counsel or pleaders. He told the house, that they had charged Strafford of high treason; that they had found the articles of the charge treasonable; that they had voiced their witnesses depositions to be satisfactory: so it concerned them to charge as conspirators in the same treason, all who had before, or should thereafter, plead in that cause. If this hold, Strafford's counsel will be rare. This day the carpenters are busy to set up the seats for both the houses; when that is done, the Lieutenant must come to his sentence, and then all affairs will run. When at once the head of Strafford and the root of Episcopacy are struck at, there are some blind fears that the King, not being yet able to abide it, may yet hazard the breaking up of the parliament. The Irish army is not like to dissolve. Worcester will not come to the parliament, pretending sickness. Herbert his son is much at court. The Papists in Wales follows him much. The proclamation against Papists, as you may read it in print, is sharp enough; yet it is feared they are but too strong, and too well armed. The King's army in York is thought to be in some better posture than before. Some surmises divisions in Scotland. The noise of the Queen's voyage to France is dilled down; no money for her furniture will be got in haste; and the Cardinal has no will of her mother. All these things, if we be not mad, will set us on our watch. God, in his mere mercy, must end what he has begun, or yet all may go very quickly to a horrible confusion. Never were tears and prayers more seasonable and more necessary. We were not well pleased with the manner, albeit exceeding well with the matter, that the lower house should
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have joined with the King, and the higher house to have required us to give in all the articles of our last demand together. We would be most gladly at an end; yet if we were ready to go, as we cannot be in haste, they know and proclaim that they were undone; yet the instability and fearfulness, and cleaving to their money too many of them, will make us trust them less, and see the more to our own affairs. The index of our last demand, and all that yet is past upon it, you have here. When Lord Eglington has perused them, I know his Lordship will communicate all, both writ and print, to you.

The Marquis, whatever he has been, yet now is the least instrument we have to keep the King's mind in some tolerable temper; but malice and envy will not let him go on to do in both nations all good service in quiet. The Lieutenant's friends finding it his apparent good to have the Marquis joined with him in danger, laboured to have him accused of treason also. The Popish Episcopal faction seeing him evidently unite with the country to draw the King from them, co-operated with all their power; but the articles were so frivolous which they could invent against him, and his favourers in both houses so many and mighty, that he was glad and desirous to have that accusation discussed; but the intenders of it grew so faint, that their purpose now seems to be evanished. Yet behold he fell in a greater danger by his friends in the houses. He had obtained, for the King's pleasure, some delay of time for Strafford's answer; by this they made the King believe, that his power in both the houses was so great, as it was easy for him, if he would endeavour it, to get Strafford's life saved. They wrought it so, that if he denied to deal for Strafford, he should offend the King; if he essayed to deal farther, he should lose the parliament and us all. Yet it is like the man, in his great wisdom, will get both the King and parliament kept, and let Strafford go where he deserves. All the English ministers of Holland who are for New-England way, are now here: how strong their party will be here is diversely reported; they are all in good terms with us. Our only considerable difference will be about the jurisdictions of synods and presbyteries. As for Brownists, and separatists of many kinds here, they mislike them well near as much as we: of these there is no considerable party. Anent private meetings, we
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know here no difference we have with any. Our questions with them of the new way, we hope to get determined to our mutual satisfaction, if we were rid of bishops; and till then, we have agreed to speak nothing of any thing wherein we differ. Mr Goodwin, Mr Hooker, Mr Baronds, Mr Simonds, have all written very gracious treatises of sanctification, which I mind to bring with me. All of them are learned, discreet, and zealous men, well seen in cases of conscience. It were all the pities in the world that they and we should differ in any thing, especially in that one, which albeit very small in speculation, yet in practice of very huge consequence, for making every congregation an absolute and independent church, over which presbyteries and general assemblies have no power of censure, but only of charitable admonition; my wit sees not how incontinent a national church should not fall into unspeakable confusions, as I am confident the goodness of God will never permit so gracious men to be the occasions of, let be the authors.

How matters go abroad, you see in the printed gazettes I send. The Portugal ambassador here gets no audience; he is labouring privily for it: if he cannot obtain it, he goes for Holland, whither only he gives out he is directed, and comes into England alone by wind and weather. The Hollanders have a pretty navy, with men and munition, ready for Lisbon. The Duke of Lorraine has been now some weeks in Paris, fully reconciled with the French King: for he must be content, they say, with Auvergne, and some other lands in the heart of France, where he shall not be able to stir: but to make all sure, the King keeps from him his first wife, the heretrix of Lorraine, to whom he minds to be heir, letting the Duke enjoy his second wife, which he married in the Emperor's service, when the other stayed behind him in France. The King of France, as you may see in the gazette, has got a Frenchman governor in Brisac, by this means all Bernard of Weimar conquers in Alstain, are joined with Lorraine to his crown. The fair Spanish province of Catalonia has taken him not only for their protector, but for their true King. He is like, by his too great growth, to draw on himself the fear and envy which before was peculiar to Spain. This is the reason why Holland, jealous of the French greatness, are so earnest for alliance with England. Every other week

week the Prince of Orange is expected here, with his royal and very pompuous train. The Palatine was but very dryly welcomed at his first coming. The King had written to him not to come so soon, but the letters missed him; yet now the King begins to speak of his help. This is all comes in my mind for the present. The treaty is continued to the midst of April: it seems ere then all will be closed that concerns us. I will essay to be dismissed before. I trust you will not fail to continue your care for my flock. I thank you all, dear brethren, for your bygone assistance. I promise, by God's grace, if I were at home, to give to every one of you the like assistance on occasion. The Lord be with all. You must not fail, as you love the glory of God, and the welfare of the church and state in all the King's dominions, both in your own days and after generations, to stir up your own souls, and those of your flocks, to earnest supplications; for all now is in an apparent way of prospering as we could wish; and yet there are secret ways in hand, more than we know, and will speak of, to undo all. But there is a God who has done great things for us, and will triumph over the devil, and all the wickedness of men, be who they will. Let us only have a conscience, come what will, that may comfort with the sweet remembrance of our endeavours to do our duty, and to call upon his name for the welfare of Zion.

Your brother and servant,
ROBERT BAILLIE.

Our post has stayed beyond our expectation. After long delay, all the answer the Peers gave to our long paper of Episcopacy, was a desire not to give it into the parliament: to this their paper you see our reply. At last, after many passionate words from Bristol, we were advised it were our good to lay by our paper of Episcopacy till Strafford's business were ended; and so we have done. The seats and lofts, or, as they call them, the scaffolds, of Westminster-hall, are now ready. Monday is the first day of Strafford's cause. Some think his process will be short. You shall know with the next. To mollify the King, they have given him, the other day, the tonnage and poundage for the next three years, and some three subsidies, which, with the former, make nine. The stop of trade here, through mens unwillingness to venture these three or four years bygone, has made this people
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much poorer than ordinary. They will be no ways able to bear their burden if the cathedrals fail not. On the committee for religion, in the higher house, are all the best Lords. We are made to hope, that against the intention of the inventors of it, it may prove a good mean of the undoing the bishops. The Portugal ambassador is over to Holland. One expressly for England is landed: after long debate at the council-table, it is resolved he shall have audience, especially since the King of Spain received the Barbarian ambassadors, as if the Prince Elector Palatine, for all that Bristol, then in Spain, could say to the contrary, but most of all because the Portugal offers liberty of religion and other fair conditions to the English merchants. They are speaking of Sir Thomas Rae's going to Ratisbon yet once for the King. They write that Burgundy has sent to Paris, to treat for their subjection to the crown of France.

Friday 19th.

28. *Mr Baillie to the Presbytery of Irvine.*

Journal of the Earl of Strafford's trial.

Reverend and Dear Brethren,

Since, much beside my expectation, my stay is here continued, my letters to you would have been more frequent, except I had been waiting to have seen business at last come towards some final conclusion, or at least to such a point that a man might have made some certain conjecture, when and in what fashion the end was likely to be; but this, after so long expectation, not yet being possible, I must leave it to farther time, and give you some account of what is past since my last, March 19. You heard of our ingiving the index of all the articles of our last demand, and of our earnest desire to have the treaty concluded so soon as they could wish. For some days there were hot contests betwixt our commissioners and Bristol for our paper of Episcopacy; he requiring that we would pass it by, or else draw it short to a simple proposition without reasons, so that it behoved us to have, in that paper to the houses of parliament, as it stood for our exoneration before God and man, and that we would acquiesce

esce to the parliament's answers therein, whatever it might be. At last, being advertised that the present giving in of that paper, might move division in both houses, betwixt these who were diversely affected towards Episcopacy, and that any division among them, till Strafford's process were closed, might prove unhappy; we were content to lay by for a time that article till Strafford's affair were over, and go on in the rest of our articles concerning our last demand: and to the end we might make good our word of our desire to be at an end, the commissioners divided the articles among them, and before the end of March had all ready. We gave all in before any answer could be got to any of them. I have sent all to you here in some four or five sheets of paper. Since, we have been pressing them from time to time to give us answers, who before urged us to give in our propositions; but to this day no answer satisfactory to one point can be obtained. The world now sees that the delay is alone upon their side. Their constant attendance on Strafford, is pretended to be the cause; and truly it is a great part of the reason why our business, and all other else, have been so long suspended. Among many more, I have been an assiduous assistant of that nation, and therefore I will offer to give you some account of a part I have heard and seen in that most notable process.

Westminster-hall is a room as long as broad, if not more than the outer house of the High Church of Glasgow, supposing the pillars were removed. In the midst of it was erected a stage like that prepared for the assembly of Glasgow, but much more large, taking up the breadth of the whole house from wall to wall, and of the length more than a third part. On the north end was set a throne for the King, and a chair for the Prince. Before it lay a large wool-sack, covered with green, for my Lord Steward, the Earl of Arundel. Beneath it lay two other sacks for the Lord Keeper and the Judges, with the rest of the Chancery, all in their red robes. Beneath this a little table for four or five clerks of the parliament, in their black gowns. Round about these some forms covered with green freeze, whereupon the Earls and Lords did sit in their red robes, of the same fashion, lined with the same white ermine-skins, as ye see the robes of our Lords when they ride in parliament; the Lords on their right sleeves having two bars of white skins, the Viscounts two

and a half, the Earls three, the Marquis of Winchester three and a half. England hath no more Marquisses; and he but a late upstart, a creature of Queen Elizabeth. Hamilton goes here but among the Earls, and that a late one. Dukes, they have none in parliament: York, Richmond, and Buckingham, are but boys; Lennox goes among the late Earls. Behind the forms where the Lords sit, there is a bar covered with green. At the one end stands the committee of eight or ten gentlemen appointed by the House of Commons to pursue. At the midst there is a little desk, where the prisoner Strafford stands and sits as he pleases, together with his keeper Sir William Balfour the lieutenant of the tower. At the back of this is a desk, for Strafford's four secretaries, who carried his papers, and assists him in writing and reading. At their side is a void for witnesses to stand; and behind them a long desk at the wall of the room for Strafford's counsel at law, some five or six able lawyers, who were not permitted to dispute in matters of fact, but questions of right, if any should be incident. This is the order of the house below on the floor, the same that is used daily in the higher house. Upon the two sides of the house, east and west, there arose a stage of eleven ranks of forms, the highest almost touching the roof; every one of these forms went from the one end of the room to the other, and contained about forty men; the two highest were divided from the rest by a rail, and a rail at every end cut off some seats. The gentlemen of the lower house sat within the rails, others without. All the doors were kept very strictly with guards. We always behoved to be there a little after five in the morning. Lord Willoughby Earl of Lindsey, Lord Chamberlain of England, (Pembroke is Chamberlain of the court) ordered the house, with great difficulty. James Maxwell, black rod, was great usher; a number of other servants, gentlemen, and knights assisted; by favour we got place within the rail, among the Commons. The house was full daily before seven; against eight the Earl of Strafford came in his barge from the tower, attended with the lieutenant and a guard of musqueteers and halbardiers. The Lords, in their robes, were set about eight. The King was usually half an hour before them. He came not into his throne, for that would have marred the action; for it is the order of England, when the King appears, he speaks what he will, but

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no other speaks in his presence. At the back of the throne were two rooms on the two sides. In the one, Duke de Vanden, Duke de Valler, and other French nobles, sat; in the other the King, Queen, Princes, Mary, the Prince Elector, and some court-ladies. The tirlies, that made them to be secret, the King brake down with his own hands; so they sat in the eyes of all; but little more regarded than if they had been absent; for the Lords sat all covered. Those of the lower house, and all other, except the French noblemen, sat discovered when the Lords came, not else. A number of ladies were in boxes, above the rails, for which they paid much money. It was daily the most glorious assembly the isle could afford; yet the gravity not such as I expected. Oft great clamour without about the doors. In the intervals, while Strafford was making ready for answers, the Lords got always to their feet, walked and chatted; the lower-house men too loud chatting. After ten, much publick eating, not only of confections, but of flesh and bread, bottles of beer and wine going thick from mouth to mouth without cups, and all this in the King's eye; yea, many but turned their back, and let water go through the forms they sat on. There was no outgoing to return; and oft the sitting was till two, three, or four o'clock at night.

1. The first session was on the 21st of March. All being set, as I have said, the Prince, in his robes, on a little chair at the side of the throne, the Chamberlain and black rod went and brought in my Lord Strafford. He was always in the same suit of black, as in dool. At the entry he gave a low courtesy, proceeding a little, he gave a second, when he came to his desk a third, then at the bar, the fore-face of his desk, he kneeled: rising quickly, he saluted both sides of the house, and then sat down. Some few of the Lords lifted their hats to him: this was his daily carriage. My Lord Steward, in a sentence or two, shewed, that the House of Commons had accused the Earl of Strafford of high treason; that he was there to answer; that they might manage their evidence as they thought meet. They desired one of their clerks to read his impeachment. I sent you long ago the printed copy. The first nine articles being but generalities, were passed. The twenty-eight of the farther impeachment were all read. The clerk's voice was small, and after the midst, being broken, was not heard by many. My Lord

Strafford was, in his answer, very large, accurate, and eloquent; consisting of a preamble, wherein he shewed, of eight or nine articles, the good service he had done to the crown and country during the time of his employment, and of particular answers to the twenty-eight articles of the charge. The reading of it took up large three hours. His friends were so wary that they made three clerks read by turns, that all might hear. I marked that he strove to cast all the blame upon Sir Harry Vane; also that the Irish army was to land at Irvine, and go first to Air; and that they had spies in our army before Newburn, who told them our great straits for want of victuals; also that he laboured to clear Traquair of the cause of the last war, as if Traquair had only made a narration according to a prior discourse, which in the privy council was made by a noble and great personage; whether the Marquis, or the Earl of Holland, or who else, we know not; only he dissembled, that that prior discourse, made by whomsoever, was taken out of information from Scotland, which are to be seen in time and place. After all, Strafford craved leave to speak; but the day being so far spent, to two or three o'clock, he was refused, and the Lord Steward adjourned the house till to-morrow about eight o'clock.

2. The second session on Tuesday 23d. The King and Queen, and all, being set as before, Mr Pym had a long and eloquent oration only against the preamble of his answer, wherein he laboured to shew, that all these meritorious acts whereof Strafford did glory, were nothing but disservices; that no praise of making good laws in Ireland could be due to him, who made his own will above all law; the parliaments he had kept there, though they were more in number than that land had seen in fifty years before him, yet they were of no benefit, since parliamentary freedom was suppressed in them. This was proven by a number of witnesses. Sir John Clotworthy, Lord Raneland, and others, being called, came to the bar, kissed the book, presented to them by one of the clerks of the parliament; deponed, that sundry who had voiced or reasoned against bills presented by the Deputy in parliament, were threatened by him, or his entire friend Sir George Ratcliff. The first witness, Sir Piercy Corbie, who, for voicing against the bill of powder, had been by Strafford cast out of the council, was excepted against, as one who pretended to be wroth and grieved. The Lords adjourn-
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ed his deposition till the morrow; at which time they discerned, that though Sir Piercy had been degraded, and was imprisoned by Strafford, and was liable to answer for breaking of ward, and flying out of the land; yet treason being the King's cause, and he acquiring no benefit to himself by his testimony, his deposition should be received, but with consideration. This was a precedent; so that thereafter no exception of wrongs, either received or alleged, did set any witness. What he bragged, of advancing of the King's rents, and making it sufficient to defray the King's ordinary expences in Ireland, which before him was not; of his advancing the customs; of benefiting the church; all this by witnesses was proven to be naught; that, long before his coming, no money came out of the English treasure for the Irish affairs after the year 1621, except L. 7000 a-year for maintenance of some shipping on the Irish coast, which yet was defrayed by the Irish rent or contribution the year before his over-coming. No marvel he had paid L. 100,000 that the King was owing there, and left in the treasury another L. 100,000; for he had got first six subsidies, and then four subsidies, notwithstanding the King in Ireland was for the present in great debt; that he had advanced the customs from L. 2000 to L. 15,000 a-year, but for more gain to himself than the King; that he had taken out of the treasury fundry great sums of money for his own use; that he advanced the church-rents indeed, but that he did it only to please Canterbury; that he did it against law; that rapine of mens estates was no sacrifice pleasing to God; that his care of the church might be seen in the persons whom he had advanced, Bramble, Atherlon, Queim, my Lord Cork's under-coachmen; that how well law and justice was administered by him, the remonstrance of the Irish parliament did declare, which they required to be read as a testimony of his great injustice. He excepted, that he was not charged with their remonstrance; that it was to prove a charge by a charge; that there was a correspondence and conspiracy betwixt those of Ireland and those of England against him. Maynard pressed, that the remonstrance might be read, not as a charge, but as a publick testimony of his injustice, to contradict what he said in his preamble, of his justice in Ireland. He craved justice in name of all the commons in England, who were slandered as conspirators by my Lord of Strafford. For this rashness, Strafford

ford on his knees craved pardon, and declared on his oath, though few believed him, that he understood none in the honourable house of Commons, either English or Irish, but some of both kingdoms, not members of parliament. The Lords found the gentlemen of the house of Commons desirous to have that remonstrance read reasonable. So when one at the bar had kissed the book, which is the order of their oath, and attested the present paper to be a true copy, which was ever done in all the papers that were read, one of the clerks did read it. By hearing of this remonstrance, Strafford lost much of his reputation.

When Pym had ended, the Earl required time, if it were but to the morrow, to answer so heavy charges, many whereof were new. After debate *pro* and *contra*, one of the Lords spake of adjourning the house, and pressed their privilege, that at the motion of any one Lord the house behoved to be adjourned; so the Lords all retired to their own house above, and debated the question among themselves a large half-hour. During their absence, tho' in the eye of the King, all fell in chatting, walking, eating, toying; but Strafford, in the midst of all the noise, was serious with his secretaries, conferring their notes and writing. The Lords returned, the Steward pronounced their interlocutor, That the matters spoken being all of fact, and that only in answer to his own preamble, he should make an answer without any delay. So, without sign of repining, the Earl answered something to all that had been said; instanced some of his good laws; made some apology for Bramble, Addirton, Queim; read a list of good divines which he had sent for from England, and had provided well; confessed, that he had taken out of the treasury L. 15,000, wherewith he had bought lands to the King of L. 2000 rent; also, that he had borrowed from the treasurer L. 24,000, which was now repaid; but for that he produced a warrant under the King's hand to take out of the treasury L. 40,000 for setting up a magazine of tobacco. It is thought that letter was but lately purchased. He shewed he had a greater heart than to make Canterbury's pleasure the end of his actions; that he took his present afflictions from God for his other sins; that he was confident to take off the evil opinion which the Honourable House of Commons had conceived of him. He protested, he was the same man he was before when he was one of their number, and well respected among them.

Mr

Mr Pym replied shortly and well, referring the generals to be proven by particulars, as they fell in the charge to be handled.

3. Wednesday, 24th, Mr Maynard handled the first of the twenty-eight articles. By way of preface, he resumed to make Strafford odious. The chief of the things spoken the former day, pressing the grievousness of his crime, to bring in, by force of arms, in England and Ireland, an arbitrary government. The lower house had appointed some eight of their number in a committee to stand at the bar, and plead by turns, as they thought meet, to divide the articles. On the first, fundry sworn witnesses did depone his threatening to obtain a larger power to punish than was before; also, that in his new commission and instructions were inserted clauses of a power of the chancery and star-chamber, whereby he and his colleagues were enabled to decide any kind of causes otherwise than the law did provide, which no president of York before had ever attempted. Besides, that he had obtained an article in his instructions, to hinder prohibitions or appeals from his court to any other, and had committed fundry for bringing of prohibitions, even before these instructions were obtained. In his answer, he required permission to retire a little to another room, for collecting of himself, and better preparation to answer every article. This was refused. He proved, that he was in Ireland, or at least not in York, after the time they alledged these instructions were purchased. It was replied, they had pressed, and had proven the matter, whatever became of the precise circumstance of time: it was alike whether he or his deputies executed an illegal commission obtained by him. He made a general answer, and almost in every article repeated it; though the point alledged was proven, yet it would be but a misdemeanour; that a hundred misdemeanours would not make one felony, and an hundred felonies not one treason, being a crime of a diverse kind and nature. It was often answered, that his treason was the subversion of all the fundamental laws, and introducing an arbitrary and tyrannick government; that every article was but an evidence of his words and deeds to evince that his purpose and endeavour. He alledged, that what was charged in the first article was but an enlargement of his own jurisdiction; and this in a judge was a
very

very chaste ambition. It were tedious to report all their quick passages.

The third article, That he would make the King's little finger heavier than the loins of the law, this was proven by sundry. Among others, Sir David Faulds, whom he had crushed, came to depone. He excepted against him, as one who had a quarrel against him. Maynard produced his own decree, subscribed by his own hand, that whereas Sir David had brought before him the same exception against a witness, he had decerned, that a witness for the King and commonwealth behoved to be received, notwithstanding any private quarrels. When he saw his own hand, he said no more, but in a jesting way, You are wiser, my Lord, than to be ruled by any of my actions as patterns. For the matter, he protested he had spoken the clean contrary; that he had found the little finger of the law heavier than the loins of the King. Speaking to those who, by law, and pleading against the ship-money, had spent much more than the King had required of them; for this he produced Sir William Penunt for a witness; who both here, and many times else, deponed point blank all he required. This knight was one of the lower house. Mr Maynard desired him to be posed, (for no man there spoke to any other, but all the speech was directed to my Lord Steward: all the questions any required to be asked, were asked all by him only); Maynard required Sir William to be posed, when and what time he was brought to the remembrance of these words of my Lord Strafford's? All of us thought it a very needless motion. Sir William answered, Since the first speaking of them they were in his memory, but he called them most to his remembrance since my Lord of Strafford was charged with them. Maynard presently caught him, that he behoved to be answerable to the house for neglect of duty, not being only silent, but voicing with the rest to this article, wherein Strafford was charged with words whereof he knew he was free. There arose with the word such a hissing in the house, that the gentleman was confounded, and fell a-weeping. Strafford protested, he would rather commit himself to the mercy of God alone, giving over to use any witness in his defence, before any, for witnessing the truth in his behalf, should incur any danger or disgrace.

4. Thursday, the 25th of March, the first day of the year

year in England, Maynard handled the third article, shewed, that Ireland, by divers laws, had all the privileges of *Magna Charta*, and was governed by the common law in England, being for the most part English blood; yet that my Lord Strafford had avowed them to be a conquered nation, whom the King might use as he pleased, and that the charters of Dublin were annulled; notwithstanding that the Irish commissioners had obtained, in the year 1621, instructions from King James to Deputy Falkland, bearing the government to be by the common law, and the Deputy or council should not meddle with any actions of inheritance, except these that concerned the church, or the first plantation, or which were recommended from the council of England. My Lord Cork was first called to depone. Strafford excepted, and required an information against him to be read: but being a counsellor in Ireland, he was received, and no information against him was heard. He and the other three or four deponed clearly the words of the article; adding, that Strafford had repeated them in face of both houses of parliament; saying further, that the instructions were drawn from King James by very narrow-hearted petitioners, who did not understand the rules of government.

Strafford required farther to answer to things objected the former day; but was refused. He required permission to retire, and advise about the present objections; but all which could be obtained was a little time's advisement in the place he was in. So hereafter it was Strafford's constant custom, after the end of his adversary's speech, to petition for time of recollection; and, obtaining it, to sit down with his back to the Lords, and most diligently to read his notes, and write answers, he and his secretaries, for half an hour, in the midst of a general noise and confusion, which continued ever till he arose again to speak. He prefaced the misfortune of the most of his predecessors the Deputies of Ireland, who, after their best services, have fallen into publick challenges; also the great infirmity of his body, and greater of his spirit; that he wished earnestly to see an end of this cause; that were it not for the cause of his motherless children, he rather would lose his life, than with such a longsome and bitter toil in his spirit to defend it; that the article, though proven, was not treasonable; that words, according to the statute of Edward VI. not challenged in thirty days after

their speaking, were no treason; that the conquest of Ireland, and power to the first conquerors to impose laws, was not doubtful; that he had spoken this of King Charles, that he had remembered, in the beginning of the parliament, this ancient condition of that kingdom, to amplify so much the more their present happiness under the legal reign of King Charles; that the charters of Dublin were truly faulty in many things, and prejudicial both to the crown, to the religion, and wealth of the land, and city itself, yet that he had never questioned them. Maynard replied to all extempore very well. I marvelled much at first of their memories, that could answer and reply to so many large alledgeances, without the missing of any one point; but I remarked, that both the Lieutenant, when they spake, and they, when he spake, did write their notes, and in their speeches looked on these papers; yea, most of the Lords and lower house did write much daily, and none more than the King. That is strange, that this great judicatory, nothing at all is dictated, but in a continued speech all spoken, and the clerks take what they can; so that in the pronouncing of the sentences, the judges who want their own writ notes, have much to do in their memories. So long as Mr Maynard was principal speaker, Mr Glyn lay at the wait, and usually observed some one thing or other, and uttered it so pertinently, that six or seven times in end he got great applause from the whole house.

5. Friday, 26th, Mr Glyn handled the fourth article, of deciding at the council-table causes of inheritance, as that of Lord Cork's, upon paper petitions, and equalling acts of council to acts of parliament. The day before Mr Glyn had begun to discourse on the article, and called Lord Ranula, a privy counsellor of Ireland, to depone. Strafford required he might be interrogate, Whether or not it was the custom of Deputies before him to decide such causes at the council-table? and whether or not it was not his own usual practice, in Conaught, where he was president, on paper petitions to decide causes? Glyn excepted, that he should not be posed with such questions, being self-accusations. When this grew to a hot contest, and the house was going to adjourn, the lower house was content to refer all to the morrow. So at the beginning my Lord Steward shewed the Lords opinions, which was always a decree, that Lord Raunlay should depone his
knowledge

knowledge of the practice of the Deputy at council and superior judicatories, but should not be questioned anent the practice of inferior judicatories and his own. My Lord Cork, the chiefest by far of the King's subjects, sat among the Lords with his hat on daily, but in his black cloak. He spoke softly but evil; but witnessed fully, and to a word, as Strafford told him after. All this was in the charge; other three also did so. Strafford, after his half-hour's delay, came to his answer, regretted, as oft before and after, the want of time to bring his papers and witnesses out of Ireland: yet, as Glyn could well tell, there was few, either men or papers, he could have use of, but they were always, by one good luck or other, ready at the bar. He required a certificate to be read from the council-table of Ireland; but was refused, because none could attest on oath the truth of the copy; but he obtained the reading of an order of the lower house in Ireland, for seizing on his paper, on his tobacco, and the most of the goods he had there, as if he had been already condemned as a traitor. On this outrage he complained tragically; but Glyn shewed, that the matter belonged nothing to the purpose in hand, and that there had been no more done, but some of his goods seized, for security of great sums, whereof he and his officers were indebted to the crown. He triumphed, that by accident he had gotten a certificate that morning, that Queim the coachman-vicar, was master of arts, and required it to be read; but was rejected as impertinent. The council-table's order against Lord Cork was read; it proved no more, but that the council had joined with him in that, as in many other illegal actions. He shewed, that the council of Ireland had much more power than the council of England; that it was necessary to be so, for the governing of that barbarous and unquiet people. He fell out here in a dainty discourse of keeping the King's prerogative and privileges of the people in an equal balance; shewed, that however K. James's instructions had restricted the power of the council of Ireland in many things, yet that expressly the determination of ecclesiastick possessions, such as these of my Lord of Cork was, remained in their power. For his words, magnifying the council-acts too much, they were proven, he said, but by one witness: as for Sir Piercy Corbie, he valued not his testimony; he had never regarded him so much as to speak to him at table so familiarly:

for this he called my Lord Castlehaven, who, at the time alledged, was at the table, to witness. He deponed, that some such thing was spoken at that time to Corbie by Strafford. He vilified also the testimony of the Lord Killikarok against him; because he had sworn that Ratcliff was his echo, a thing impossible. Lord Digby made a grave reply to this, that the oath of a witness is not to be applied to every several word of deposition; that the words challenged might have a good and true sense. Strafford extenuated his own words; that he might have said an act of council was binding, viz. in cases not provided for by parliament, and to the time a parliament should provide. Glyn and Maynard replied sharply, That his design was well manifested, by these his words, to bring in an arbitrary government without law. And how much he scorned laws, they called for another witness to depone. This he vehemently opposed, that no reserved witness, after the examination was closed, should be heard. They alledged the practice in all courts, to call for witnesses, even while the probation of the charge was closed; that all the articles were but one and the same charge; beside, that he, in his answer, had brought new matter, which they behoved to refute by witnesses. Bristol required the adjourning the house. The Lords, after half an hour's absence in their own house, returned, and found it reasonable, that their witnesses ought and should be heard. He deponed, that when the lower house of the Irish parliament had opposed the Deputy's bill concerning the selling of powder, he said, he did not regard it; for he would make an act of council thereanent, which should be as binding as an act of parliament. It were tedious to set down what daily passed almost from eight in the morning till three after noon; I only point at some principal things, which I brought away on my memory, without any writing.

6. Saturday, March 27th, the sixth session, the day of coronation; we were deaved all day with the ringing of bells. The Lords that day waited half an hour, and the King a whole hour, before Strafford came: at last he came, and excused his delay with the contrariety both of wind and tide. Glyn fell on the fifth article; his practising of his arbitrary government according to his word, his sentencing a peer of the land, my Lord Montnorris, to death; his hanging of a soldier in Dublin, by martial law, in a council of war. My Lord Montnorris was called

ed to depone: for all Strafford his exception, yet the cause of treason being the King's, and having no gain by his testimony, was admitted. He made a long and pitiful narration of Strafford's oppression: That being at table with Lord Mure and Lord Loftes, discourse falling in concerning the Deputy's scutching of a gentlemen with a rode, of his name, and of the gentleman's treading, by accident, on the Deputy's gouty toes, it was alledged he had said, that man had a brother in England who would not be content with such a revenge for such an affront; that of these words spoken in April, he heard nought to September, where one night he receiveth from a messenger, a warrant to be at council to-morrow in the castle chamber: when he came there he inquired of other counsellors the reason of the meeting, but none could tell him. When the Deputy came, he shewed, that he had called the council of war to take order with my Lord Montnorris, one of the council of the army, for his mutinous words against him the general; that then he arose, and stood at the table-end; thereafter the King's letter to the council to see the Deputy repaired in the dangerous wrong he heard was done to him by my Lord Montnorris, was read; at the reading whereof he said he fell on his knees much amazed. Being called to answer, he required a copy of his charge, some time to advise, and counsel to plead for him. All these were refused, and he instantly required to confess his words; or, if he denied them, he had my Lord Mure's and my Lord Loftes's deposition, subscribed, to convince him. He was ready to have sworn he had not spoken the alledged words; but having no time granted, he would neither confess nor deny, and so he was removed. The Deputy required present sentence. Mure and Loftes deponed, he was found to have offended against two articles of discipline, the one importing banishment, the other death. Many inclined to make him culpable of the first; but the Deputy urged both or neither: so he is called in, the sentence of death pronounced against him, the Deputy promising nothing shall ail his life; but in the mean time committeth him to close prison, wherewith in a few days, with grief and displeasure, he fell in danger of present death. Upon the physician's oath, he is permitted to go to his own house; but so soon as he recovers, he is committed again, he is divested of four eminent places he possessed in the state, his wife most hardly could

could escape to England to complain to the King: when she had got the King's letter for his delivery, and on her knees in the streets, had supplicate the Deputy on his behalf, nothing could be obtained till he had subscribed the justice of the sentence against him: this for a long time refusing, at last he subscribed, the form was sent him, without reading it, and so came out of prison. The most of all this was witnessed by my Lord Ranula, and my Lord Dillon, privy counsellors. The other part of the article, his executing one Thomas Deninel, who after a long want of pay, craving it of his captain, was bid be gone to the gallows; he went his way, but was brought back, and said to have stolen a quarter of beef: for this he is sentenced to die; and albeit some noblemen moved the Deputy's lady to be earnest for his life, yet without mercy he was executed.

In his answer, Strafford alledged, that martial law was in use in Ireland, albeit not in England; that his commission carried him to use it; that he had put in no other article for mutineers, than my Lord Wilmot had done before him; that in Lord Arundel's articles the last year, and in Lord Northumberland's this, were the same clauses; that for example it were necessary that fugitives and thieves should die; that in that council his voice was but one. As concerning my Lord Montnorris, he alledged the confession of his fault under his hand; that his mutinous words were dangerous, the army being on foot, and in motion: the King's letter for his punishment was read; that his censure concerned not him, he had no voice into it; the council's letter to the King was read; that no evil was done to him, and nothing intended, but the amendment of his very loose tongue: if the gentlemen of the House of Commons intended no more but the correction of his foolish tongue, he would heartily give them thanks; that his not denying a share of that sentence, was not a confessing of his voicing in it, or procuring it, but his honour repaired thereby; that my lady Montnorris's courtesy was to him above all measure displeasing; that the King intended him no pardon till he should really acknowledge his oversight.

To all this Maynard and Glyn made a satisfactory reply, That martial law had no more place in Ireland than in England; that the benefit of *Magna Charta*, ordaining no man to be sentenced to death but by a jury, was common

mon alike to both. They required Lord Loftes, late Chancellor, who forty years together had been a provost-martial, in what cases he had used martial law? Strafford much opposed the hearing of supplemental witnesses: his great friends, Clare, Bristol, and Savile, disputed so much for that, that the house was almost adjourned upon it; but my Lord Stewart pressed the other day's decree, that when the defendant, in his answer, furnished new matters, the accuser should have liberty upon it to examine new witnesses. So Loftes testified he had never used martial law, but upon manifest rebels; and that Lord Falkland's instructions carried expressly the cases of war and rebellions. Lord Ranula witnessed that the army was no more on foot nor motion than it wont to be, that alone four companies of foot, and two troops of horse were now and then training at Dublin. They pressed that no danger should come by words six months after they were spoken; that the King's letter was procured by Strafford; that he was the procurer and urger of the sentence; that though he voiced not, but sat discovered, yet he did not remove with my Lord Montnorris; that the council's letter to the King makes him the chief author of that judgement; that the King required only reparation; that the death of a peer was too much for the speaking of the treading upon his toes; that an illegal commission should not be taken from the King. Finding the unexpected length of the process, they shewed their purpose to omit some articles for gaining of time. Strafford refused to consent, unless they forewarned him of the article they were to fall upon, two nights before. They shewed it would be reasonable he should be ready always to answer on all; but however not obliged, yet they would ever forewarn him a night before, of the article to be handled the day following.

7. Monday 29th, Glyn handled the sixth article, the dispossessing of Lord Montnorris of a portion of land upon Ralston's paper petition. We all thought, that half an hour would easily have discussed that little article; but it spent all that day. Ralston's petition was read, the decreet thereupon; witnesses were heard for Montnorris's possession, and for his dispossession without farther law. They professed they would not examine the equity or the inequity of the matter, but only the form of proceeding, against the statute, against K. James's instructions, discharging

charging the Deputy or council to meddle with causes of inheritance; they pressed only his subjecting the goods of the peers to his will, without law.

In his answer, he cunningly brake in upon that which expressly they declined, the equity of the matter. My Lord Montnorris, by clear cozenage and oppression, having spoiled Ralston of these lands, he read some articles of his commission, which enabled him to do justice upon such petitions by himself, either in a court of requests, or in a court of chancery; he caused read a letter of the King's, revoking these instructions, which were never kept, nor could never be kept; for such was the poverty and barbarous ignorance of many there, that to follow the ordinary longsome course of law, were their utter undoing. He produced many judgements of Deputy Falkland, and the late Lord Justices, in the like cases; he would have done the like in the presidents and assizes, but was stopped; for the like practices, in former Deputies, he brought sundry witnesses; he required the Primate of Armagh's deposition to be read. Upon this rose a long contest. He had moved, on Saturday, that his witnesses that through sickness might not come to the bar, a commission might be granted to some Lords to go and take their oaths. This was not much opposed; so in the afternoon he obtained an order in writ for this end. The Commons were not content with this. He pressed that the order might be obeyed. At last they urged his transgression of the order, and of all equity, it not only being obtained without their advertisement, but also used without their knowledge; either the words or mind of the order behoved to be according to the practice of all courts; that the contrary party should be present at the examination to give in their cross interrogatories; by this reason Armagh's deposition was not read. He alleged no benefit accrued to himself by his decree to Ralston; and falling again on Montnorris's imprisonment, brought in witnesses to prove, that the cause of his long imprisonment, was not his contempt of the council of war, but debates in the Star-chamber. The order in all the process was, for the Commons to prove their article; when they brought witnesses, he objected what he pleased; when they had ended, he, after half an hour's collection, answered, without interruption, so long as he pleased: only when he brought his witnesses, but not on oath, they

they opposed what they thought meet: when he closed his answer, they made ever the last reply, for that is their privilege who plead for the King, against which he might say nothing, except some matter clearly new were brought, which they did not except he gave occasion, as here it fell out. He had gloried much in his innocency of that decreet of Ralston's, that no profit came to him of that judgement. Glyn shewed, that daily there came to their hands so much new matter of Strafford's injustice, that if they had their articles to frame again, they would give as many new as old. Strafford stormed at that; and proclaimed them an open defiance. Glyn took him at his word, and offered instantly to name twenty-three cases of injustice, wherein his own gain was clear. He began quickly his catalogue with Parker's paper petition, wherein he dispossessed a certain Viscount of a good portion of land, for his own use. Strafford finding himself in an ill taking, soon repented of his passionate defiance, and required he might answer to no more than he was charged with in his libel; only he protested, that in that Parker's land his name was only used; that he was only intrusted in that bargain for the use of another. They brought divers negative witnesses to depone, they had never known causes of inheritance discussed by the Deputies or the council before Strafford. One of his witnesses they proved infamous and perjured, by an act of the council of Ireland: of this he professed his disremembrance. The King's letter, revoking his father's instructions, they said, was procured by his misinformation, and that he did not keep the tenor of it. The statute alledged by him of the King's prerogative, Maynard shewed was to be understood, not of any new judicatory, but of the power the King's agents had to plead any of his causes before what legal courts they pleased, without astringtion to any one. Mr Stroud was applauded for his quick remark, That Strafford oppressed Montnorris, not only in his life, honours, liberty, lands, but in his very foul keeping him prisoner, till he forced him to subscribe, against his conscience, the justice of his own condemnation. Mr Glyn offered to go to another article. Strafford pleaded his infirmity. The Steward complained of the expence of time. The advocates pressed for the Commons expedition. Strafford, That however his bodily infirmity was great, and the charge of treason lay heavy on his mind, yet that his accusation came

from the Honourable House of Commons did most of all pierce through his soul. Maynard told, that by the flourishing of his eloquence, he spent time to gain affection; as indeed, with the more simple sort, especially the ladies, he gained daily much. He replied quickly, that rhetorick was proper to these gentlemen, and learning also; that betwixt these two he was like to have a hard bargain. Bristol was busy in the mean time, going up and down, and whispering in my Lord Steward's ear: whereupon others cried, To your places, To your places, my Lords. At last the house was adjourned till the next morning.

8. Tuesday, March 30th, Glyn shewed, That however they would not decline nor name any part of their articles, yet for saving the great expence of time, they would pass the seventh article, and the first part of the eighth: on the latter part thereof he insisted, dilating my Lady Hibbot's cause, the widow of the late chancellor of the Irish exchequer. Her husband had left to her a lease of the most of his lands for ninety-nine years; the heir, one Thomas Hibbot, a silly old fool, is glad to bargain with her, for the heritable right of 2500 pounds a-year, for L. 18,000 Sterling. When the writs are making in Dublin, one offers him L. 500 more: of this he shews the lady; she is willing to give him that much. When the writs are made, she is informed, that it was necessary for her security to have from him a writ of recovery: because the writ required some time, and his desire to be in England was great, he would not wait upon it; whereupon the lady refuses to pay the money. He petitions the Deputy to cause her keep condition. Sir Thomas Meredith presents a petition in the simple man's name, not only for his money, but by his knowledge for breaking the bargain. The lady is summoned before the council; the bargain is declared null; she is ordained to put the old man in present possession of the land, or else go to prison; and every month she delayed to fulfil the order, to have her fine of L. 500 doubled. When the old man is put in possession, Meredith, for Strafford's own use, buys the lands for L. 3000, and from the lady's son receiveth L. 7000; so of this injustice Lord Strafford receiveth L. 4000 of advantage. All this was clearly proven by old Hibbotts himself, Mr Hay the lady's son, who paid the money. My Lady Montnorris deponed, that the most of the

the council were for my lady. My Lord Dillon deponed, it was as he heard. Mr Lord Cork could not speak of the number, but that the Deputy spake in passion, that if he thought they would have made a party against him, he needed not have brought that action there.

In his answer, he said, for sparing of time he would come close to the point, and answer to nothing but the charge alone: and good reason had he so to do; for he had found himself oft caught in extravagancies. He would speak nothing of the justice or injustice of the fact, that being a cause depending in another court; that the Deputy had power to determine of petitions, as from his commission, and practice of former Deputies of Ireland, he proved before; that this order, as all others of council, was according to the voice of the most part; that his threats to prison and fine the lady for disobedience to the council, was just; that Meredith's bargain was for his use he denied; but finally, whatever misdemeanor was in it, there was no treason wherewith he was charged. Maynard assumed all, applied it vehemently, that he had subverted law, and brought in an arbitrary power on the subjects goods, for his own gain. He went to the next article, a commission to the Bishop of Down to imprison all of the meaner sort, who refused to compare to his court, or when they compeared, to satisfy all his orders: a copy of this commission was desired to be read. He opposed, that a copy of a warrant could not make faith. They told, if it was so, the principal not being recorded, but in his power to be called in when he pleased, it would never be possible to prove any warrant when the party had suppressed the principal. Sir James Montgomery attested the truth of the copy, and his knowledge of the great vexation that came to very many by it for three years. Mr Glyn shewed, that the Earl of Strafford was now better than his word; he had not only made acts of state equal to acts of parliament, but also his own acts above both, in giving power to bishops above law, to vex and imprison the bodies of the King's subjects. He answered, that his warrant was not produced; that such letters of assistance to bishops had been given before him: for this end my Lord Primate's deposition was read. He required, that some passages of my Lord Falkland's book should be read; but that book being but the private record of a secretary, was rejected. His secretary

Little deponed, that he had drawn that order to the Bishop of Down according to a prior pattern he had seen. Strafford confessed, on the Bishop's desire, he had sent him such an order, but had done it to no other; and hearing it was not altogether legal, had recalled it; that the gentleman had made him better and worse than his word, as he conceived it to make for his purpose. Glyn applied it, shewed that the Primate testified only that he heard his predecessor the Bishop of Meath say, that at the Papists desire, to save the process of excommunication, he had got letters of assistance which did not suit with the case in hand; that his secretary's testimony was not to be heeded, he being himself guilty. He offered to go on to the next article; but Strafford desired to have that article superseded till my Lord Cottington's deposition might be had, who was sick. After some debate, the house was adjourned till the morrow.

9. The ninth session. This day I was absent; for being moderator of our session, I behoved to call a meeting to advise anent the order of the fast, wherein we were advertised from Newcastle, to join with our nation on the 4th and 6th of April. But, as I heard, the matters that passed that day were these. Mr Maynard handled the tenth article, concerning his extraordinary gain in the farming the customs. It was clearly proven, that yearly he would have L. 30,000 Sterling advantage. His answer was, that the bargain of the customs was put upon him against his will. My Lord Cottington deponed, That when Lord Strafford moved some of the Londoners to offer L. 15,000 for the customs of Ireland, to Lord Portland Treasurer, that they quickly repented, being much more than ever these customs had paid before; that no man would come near that offer, yet at last Sir Arthur Ingram had come and offered L. 100 more, if so be Lord Strafford would be a partner with him; that my Lord with much dealing both of Lord Portland and the King, was made to join. He said, That the augmenting of the book of rates was against his advice; and that before he meddled with these customs, the Duchess of Buckingham's lease was ended; that if the customs were raised, the traffick could not be diminished; that the making of a good bargain was not treason. Maynard summed up all, That as he found out a strange discipline of the tongue in Lord Montnorris's case, by a sentence of cutting off the head,

head; so he had made in a few years, by good count, large L. 300,000 off the King; the rates were heightened before he got the customs but only a month; if he were against it, why was he the first and sole exactor of that augmentation? and why did he thrust out Sir Arthur, the first bargainer, so soon as the years of the huge gain came? The eleventh article they passed. The twelfth they made very odious, That tobacco, whereof they proved was sold yearly in Ireland 500 tons, which paid to King James but L. 10 custom, and never more than L. 20, was raised by Lord Strafford to pay to the King L. 5000, and then L. 10,000, but to himself at least L. 100 a-year much more than the King's rent. He said much for his defence: That he had oft loss of it; that the regulating that superfluous commodity was by the King's letter committed to him; that it was but a monopoly at most; that any pilloried or whipped was for perjury; that there were proclamations in England for landing tobacco no where but in London; that the orders of the lower house in Ireland were acts of tyrannick and arbitrary power, to seize on his goods and magazine. In their reply they remembered his flandering of the parliament of Ireland.

10. Thursday, April 1. the tenth session, Maynard opened the thirteenth article. The proclamations were read, discharging to sell any yarn but reeled in such a fashion; the warrant of my Lord read to seize for use all that would be found otherwise dressed than the proclamation appointed; proven by many witnesses, that the warrant in many places was executed; that publick markets were deserted; that cartfulls of spoil were carried to Dublin, and delivered to Lord Strafford's servants; that the officers brake up many houses; that they struck poor women, holding their yarn, till some died; that masters were disappointed of their rents; that thousands were starved through his oppression; that Sir John Clotworthy hardly escaped punishment for writing to the Deputy of these evils. He answered, That his intention in this was certainly good; he found in Ireland great store of sheep, which, if well used, might prejudice the chief trade of England; that to put down the wool-trade, he set himself to countenance the trade of flax; that seeing the people, through their barbarous unskilfulness, hurt their own profit, he strove to direct them; that the proclamations were not his, but the council's; that warrants to second proclamations were necessary and ordinary; that when he found the people's untowardness

to

to learn, he gave over the design; that after his accounts he had no profits, but some hundred pounds of loss by his trade; that for the misdemeanour of officers he could not answer. Maynard concluded, that intentions cleared not illegal actions; that his giving over before 10,000 starved, makes him not innocent of the killing of thousands; that the concurrence of the council excuseth not him who led them.

The fourteenth article was passed, the fifteenth, as most important, was accurately handled. Mr Palmer, one of the eight on the committee for the Commons, a material man, but not eloquent, nor quick, nor vehement, opened the article; shewed it alone was treason, and more than the proof of the whole charge. He took only the mid part of it, concerning Saville's warrant to soldiers, shewed, that the statute of Edward III. and Henry VI. made at Dublin, did, in express terms, make the levying of soldiers, and laying of them on the King's subjects, to be treason, violating the King's protection, and so his crown and person; that it was ordinary for my Lord to execute his unlawful jurisdiction, his decrees on paper, or petitions, by this unlawful power, giving a warrant dormant to a serjeant at arms, to lay an officer, and three, five, or ten soldiers of the next garrison, on any who disobeyed his orders, to eat up all they had, till they had obeyed. A copy of a warrant to Saville was read. Strafford alledged a copy could make no faith in so high a business; but this was rejected. Saville was required to attest the copy. He swore it was his subscription, and a true copy of his warrant for the substance, but he had not compared the writs. Maynard pressed it was enough, if a witness did prove the warrant given by Lord Stafford's authority, whether by word or writ. The house adjourned upon this debate. My Lord Steward at return pleased both parties; refused the reading of this copy, as not being sufficiently attested, but permitting them to prove by witness the matter of any warrant. This they did abundantly; especially in the case of one Bern, who, on a paper petition, was charged to appear before my Lord Deputy to pay L. 100 debt, which he might have composed for L. 5, but refused, not thinking it due. By Strafford's warrant, ten of his troopers at Dublin came upon the man's lands, eat him to the worth of L. 500, burned the most of his house, forced him to leave the country, and serve as a soldier in Flanders, being

ing unable any more to keep house. Lord Strafford, feeling the weight of this article, after half an hour's advisement, and retiring for easement, returned as a man loaden in mind. He answered an hundred shifts, and said as much as any man could; but little, in my judgement, to the point. He remembered his impossibility to bring his proofs from Ireland, his obligation to be judged there, and by the Irish law; however, he was willing to submit an hundred lives, if he had them, to their Lordships equity: he produced a number of witnesses to depone, it was ordinary there for the Deputy to give warrant for pressing of soldiers pay, and contribution-money: but not one of them all deponed the case of ordinary debts, or decreets on paper petitions. He alledged, that the acts alledged were old and antiquated; but I understood not his probation. He said, that in these statutes the King was not included, because not expressly mentioned; and so he, the King's Deputy, was in the same case; also that Queen Elisabeth's statute permitted the Deputy to levy war; that it was a poor and unheard-of war which three, five, or ten soldiers could make; that he laid on no soldiers, whatever others did by his pretended warrant; that no warrant could be shown; that he was in Ireland at the time of the execution; and a number of more subterfuges: after all, he reserved himself to his counsel for his legal case. Palmer replied to all very well, That Ireland was a portion of the English crown; that he answered there according to the Irish law; that his taking of regal and sovereign power and privilege was the charge; that the Deputy hath not power to levy war but upon rebels, not in time of peace on the King's peaceable subjects, answerable to legal courts; that he declines also the question of law to be agitated by another in due place. Strafford offered to answer the first part of the article, but was stopped. He oft triumphed, that they alledged crimes against him which they were not able to make good. He humbly supplicated the House of Commons to grant him one day of ease. This he obtained; for all were over-wearied with so constant and long attendance: so the house was adjourned to Saturday. On Friday both the houses met in their own places, and advised about other affairs.

11. Saturday, April 3. the eleventh session, Palmer opened the sixteenth article; his way to keep himself in possession of that arbitrary power of his; his stopping all

to go to England but by his licence; his proposition for his power to the council-table of England was read; his proclamation also in Ireland for that end was read; witnesses brought to prove his refusing of licences to fundry who were going to complain of his injuries, and of his fining in L. 500, and imprisoning of Parry, for following his master the chancellor to England. He answered, There were many statutes for the residence of the subjects in Ireland; that in England no nobleman went abroad without leave; that his proposition to the English table is grounded upon clear reason, the stopping of needless clamorous complaints; that the proclamation was by the whole council, and procured by the King's letter; that thousands went over without challenge; that if they were not restrained, they would go to Jesuits colleges, and keep correspondence with O'Neal and Tirconnel.

Palmer replied well to all, That the statutes alledged, none of them imported a personal restraint of complaints; that the Deputy thus kept all the judges in a dependence upon him; that by his proclamation his deputy had hindered the committee of parliament to come over; that there is no O'Neal or Jesuit college in England; that no complainers could get over, whatever became of others; he was to be answerable, as he professed in his proposition, for the justice of Ireland; so the council's concurrence prejudgeth them, but excuseth not him; the Broad Seal excused not the Marquis, who accepted of *mixtum et merum imperium* from his misinformed King. It was Mr Whitlock's turn to speak next. He pressed the seventeenth and eighteenth articles, and opened the nineteenth, anent the Scottish oath; he shewed he had heard how he had used the Irish subjects, and now he would declare his usage towards the Scots, who were under the same protection with the English and Irish; that a new oath cannot be formed without an act of parliament; that he framed, and put on the Scots a new and illegal oath, which they did not desire, as he saith in his answer. Sir James Montgomery was called to witness. He made at the bar a very long narration, that all the Scots of any note were written for by the Deputy; that he met them in Lord Offard's lodging; he said, it was expected they should clear their disaffection to the ways of their countrymen; that the bishops moved the expediency of a new oath; that many of them thought that which he spake, that to offer an oath were

were to make themselves subject to suspicion before they committed any fault; that Strafford replied, Who would not take an oath should do worse; that Ratcliff brought to them to-morrow two draughts, the one mere railing, the other more mild; this, he said, he might not change, for the Deputy had seen it; yet they went to the Deputy's lodging, and required a copy for advisement; this was refused; the Deputy was content to put in the clause of equality with the rest of the subjects, but the clause of just and reasonable commands he would not hear; that he administered the oath at the council-table himself to all the Scots who were present; that his commission was to take the oath of all above sixteen years; that the instructions bare women as well as men; that the refusers were imprisoned and fined; that many fled with their corns and cattle; this Sir John Clotworthy and others testified; one Salmon, a schoolmaster here, and John Loftes, witnessed the sentencing of Henry Stewart and the rest; that the Deputy declared the oath extended to all the ecclesiastick ceremonies present and to come; that he would persecute to the blood those that would refuse; that the Scots were traitors, rebels, and mad; that he would pull them up root and branch, if he returned to that kingdom.

He answered, That the time of that oath carried great appearance of fears from the Scots; that there was of them in Ireland above 100,000; that one Trewman was executed for a design to deliver up the castle of Knockfergus to a great Lord in Scotland; that the council thought it necessary to secure the country from that fear; that they were privy to his letter and the oath; that all the Scots took it chearfully, except Sir James Montgomery; that those who went away for this cause he would never stay; that he knew not an act of parliament to be necessary for an oath at such a necessary occasion; that the same oath was pressed in England; that he had the King's letter, under his own hand, for framing that oath, which before he never revealed; if this was a treason, being informed as he was, it behoved him to be a traitor over again if he had the like occasion; the greatness of Henry Stewart's fine was for the greatness of his offence; it was not exacted, and his was ever ready to be relieved when obedient; that the Primate will testify, he declared, that no part of it concerned church-affairs; that he was not so far divested of reason as to speak like a madman of his master's na-

tion, many whereof have done him courtesies, and none any wrong; that the schoolmaster was not to be valued; he had sworn I spoke these words the 10th of October, when I was in England the 20th of September; in a distance, he hath mistaken faction for nation. I might have spoken of my putting out of Ireland the faction of those who refused to swear allegiance to the King; that he spoke not of root or branch, or of the nation. He brought many to depone they did not remember of any such words. Whitlock deponed, That the witnesses depositions were contrary to his assertions; that whatever the danger was, he was not to use any unlawful means to oppose it; that the oath of allegiance would have satisfied the King's desire; that his oath was a pattern to England; that his ingratitude was the greater, since the Scots never wronged him; that his negative witness mistaking a circumstance of time did not weaken the substance of his testimony, Loftes concurring with him in the matter of it. Sir John Clotworthy being put to it, named a number of the Scots who had left all; also, to my great contentment, he cleared the foul slander of Trewman, shewing, that one Captain Giles, being sent to trap all he could find inclined to the Scots, insinuated with this silly man, and obtained from him a letter of recommendation to some in Scotland as a soldier. This letter being produced, made Giles to be believed in all he pleased to alledge of this simple man, without farther proof; that Strafford did conciliate the Primate and Derry; the Primate would have the refusing the first part of the oath to be treason; the Bishop of Derry said, the refusing the second part of ecclesiastical injunctions was treasonable; the Deputy would have both treasonable; that the penalty of a premunire is just; but his new oath, of not protesting against any of his commands, carrying the King's name, was strange, and the punishment of it also. He usurps a power here more than the royal; for *non est penes principem solum* to frame a new oath. In all acts of parliament, you, my Lords, and the Commons, have their interest. Mr Stroud took notice of Strafford's profession to do this over again. He said, he well believed him; but that they knew what the kingdom suffered when Gaveston came to re-act himself. Lord Strafford regretted to the Lords the great straits of his estate. If true, it was the remarkable judgement of God. He said, he had nothing there but what he borrowed;

rowed; yet daily he gave to the guard that conveyed him L. 10: by which he conciliated much favour; for those fellows were changed daily; and where they lived, having got his money, they commended his liberality. He told his family was in Ireland, 260 persons; that the House of Commons there had seized all his goods; he supplicated, that the Lords might take course to loose that arrest from so much of his goods as might sustain his wife and children in some tolerable way. If this was not false, it were alone enough to conciliate consideration. But behold the power of God bringing that man, the most stately house-keeper that ever Ireland saw, to that misery, in a moment, whereto he brought many.

12. Monday, April 5th, the twelfth session, I could not be present; for I was preparing for Tuesday's exercise; but I heard the matters handled are these. Whitlock proposed, for the conjunction of the matters, and saving of time, to open together the twentieth, twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth articles. Strafford pressed long to handle them severally one by one, as before it was practised and agreed. Glyn told him roundly, that it belonged not to a prisoner to prescribe the order of his process; they were to manage the proofs as they thought fit, let him answer in what order he pleased. This they obtained. Whitlock discoursed upon all first in general: That as, after the pacification of Berwick, in Stewart's sentence he had called the Scots traitors and rebels; so, at his coming to England, he has incensed the King against them; and when the parliament of England refused money, he stirred up the King to invade with his Irish army those of England, who would not be subject to his will. The first witness is my Lord Traquair. Being posed, What he heard Lord Strafford say concerning the Scots war? he said, he could not answer to so general a question; being posed anent his discourse at the council-table after his relations at Whitehall and at York, he desired to see his depositions, for the refreshing of his memory; for all the witnesses had deposed before the Commons of the lower house long ago. Digby, as it is thought, had given particular information to Strafford of all their depositions. After all these prefaces, all that Traquair deposed was, that at York his relation being repeated, Strafford said, that the injustice of these demands is a sufficient ground why the King should put himself in

a posture of war; that at the first relation at Whitehall, he heard him say no more, and that all the number did fully agree with him in that conclusion; but he knew not who spoke first. Finding that not so much was deponed now by Traquair, as before by Lord Digby, motioned, that they referred themselves to what was deponed in writ. After serious recollecting, Strafford replied, That this was not the practice of any court where the witness was heard *viva voce*. Lord Morton was sick; but his deposition was read. It bare, that after Traquair's relation, once and again, and third time, Strafford avowed, that the Scots demands were a sufficient ground for the King to make war; although Morton contradicted, shewing, that since the King had permitted the Scots to petition against all their grievances, their petitioning could be no ground of war before the reasons of their petition were heard; and the King expressly said, Morton had reason. Traquair being asked, denied he remembered such words of Strafford's. Sir Harry Vane, Mr Secretary, deponed, that the 5th of May, after the breaking up of the parliament, when he proponed a defensive war, Strafford was for an offensive. Northumberland was sick. His deposition bore, that Strafford perswaded his Majesty to go vigorously to an offensive war. The Lord Treasurer, Bishop of London, deponed, that Strafford's opinion was for an offensive war, and that the Scots should be reduced by force, after Traquair's relation, and that he marked no difference of judgement in that committee. Concerning his design in England, Primate Usher deponed, he heard him say, in Dublin, in case of necessity, the King, by his prerogative, might levy money as he pleased, having first tried his parliament, if it supplied him not. Lord Conway said, that Strafford said, if the parliament gave not these twelve subsidies, the King was justified before God and man to take some other course to supply himself, tho' against their will. Sir Harry Vane, that if the parliament did not succeed, he would be ready to serve the King any other way. Sir Robert King, that Sir George Ratcliffe, Strafford's intimate friend, said, the King had 30,000 men, and L. 400,000 in his purse, and a sword at his side; if he would want money, who should pity him? that with the Scots they might have peace when they pleased. Sir Thomas Barrington, that he heard Sir George Wentworth, Strafford's brother, say, he conceived the
parliament

parliament would give no money; that the commonwealth was sick of peace; it will never be well till it be conquered again. Bristol witnessed, that Strafford said to him, after the dissolving of the parliament, that he liked not his discourse, of calling another parliament, the danger admitted not so slow a remedy. The parliament had refused to supply the King; he behoved to take another course; that the King was not to suffer himself to be measured by the frowardness and undutifulness of his subjects, or rather the disaffection of some particulars. Northumberland and Vane deponed, that in the committee of eight for the Scots affairs, he said, that his Majesty having tried all ways, and being refused in this case of necessity, and in defence of the kingdom, he was absolved before God and man, and all rules of government; he had an army in Ireland, which he might employ for reducing this kingdom. The Earl of Clare, and others, debated sharply with Vane, what this kingdom did mean? Maynard quickly silenced him, Do you ask, my Lord, if this kingdom be this kingdom, or not? In his answer, he went through every article severally, and extenuated most of his words. What he said of the King, he meant ever of his just proceeding; for it was to be presupposed, that he would never do nor command in any other way; that in council he behoved to voice according to his opinion; that opinions might make an heretick, if pertinacious, but never a traitor; that chamber and table discourse, for argument, flum-flams, and fearie-fairies, could not be treasons; that words of such a nature in Edward VI.'s days, were decreed otherwise to be punished. It has been the wisdom of this spirit to secure the subjects well from treason. We would be loth to let loose that lion that would devour us and our posterity, if treason be made as ordinary as trespasses. Much ado was made for the last words witnessed by Vane. He swore he spake them not; made the Marquis, the Treasurer, Lord Cottington, depone they heard no such thing; and bare him witness, that he said, the King behoved to use his prerogative; that he marvelled at the goodness of Mr Treasurer's memory, better than his own, and all the company. Whitlock marked the shortness of Cottington's memory, who said he heard not Strafford speak of extraordinary ways, which yet he confessed. He avowed no illegal action, neither from the King nor him, and followed on his counsel; that

words

words of his brother, or Ratcliff, concerned not him; the design of the Irish army was for Scotland, as the Marquis, Northumberland, Sir Thomas Lucas, and Kingfby deponed; that he intended to fortify Ayr, and from thence to make all the country to Edinburgh pay contribution. Whitlock replied at length, That the words were to be taken as they were proven, and not as, by his commentaries, they were eluded.

13. Tuesday, there was no fitting. On Wednesday, April 7th, Maynard opened the twenty-fifth article. The Lord Treasurer deponed, that Strafford, after the parliament, advised to go on vigorously and effectually with the ship-money. Strafford confessed, he had not learned to be wiser than his teachers, or to dispute what was pronounced by the judges. Maynard replied, that it was never judged, that for refuse of loan men should be prisoned, fined, hanged. Wiseman deponed, that Strafford, said they would get no good of the citizens till some of the aldermen were fined and prisoned. He confessed, according to the Earl of Berkshire's testimony, that he thought the aldermens refusing, in so necessary a time, to give up the names of these they conceived able to lend money, made them liable to fine and ransom. Garroway, mayor the last year, deponed, that to the best of his remembrance, he said, no good would be got till some of the aldermen were hanged. While Strafford took vantage at the words *the best of my remembrance*, Garroway stoutly turned to him, and told out punctually, my Lord, you did say it. He said, he would answer with as great truth, albeit not with so great confidence as that gentleman, to the best of his remembrance he did not say so; but if he did, he trusted their goodness would easily pardon such a rash and foolish word. It was also but a single testimony; and the law provides, that on a single testimony no man shall be condemned of treason. Glyn remembered them what sentence he had pronounced on Montnorris for rash words anent his toes. Maynard shewed their charge was but one, that a single witness for many circumstances made many for the whole.

In the twenty-sixth article, they had no witness to prove his concealing the seizing on the mint, embasing of the money; but by divers proved his avowing of the city's unthankfulness, and their desiring of much worse; of their greater readiness to help rebels than the King; of his

his letter from Leicester, that the King of France searched merchants books, and laid horsemen on them till they paid what portion of their estate he pleased to demand; that if the King would do so, he had the example of other princes; that this was a point worthy my Lord Cottington's consideration. He confessed, the sense of his master's service made him use expressions of the city's unthankfulness; that of all his charge these words of the city's helping the rebels were worst, and since the gentleman deponed them, he would take with them and crave humble pardon; that he spake not to my Lord Cottington; that he said our King was more pious than to use such courses as were mentioned in that foolish letter of my Lord Leicester's secretary.

The twenty-seventh article, of levying money in Yorkshire by soldiers, was proven by fundry. To these he answered, it was by consent of most of the gentlemen, who delivered to him, by my Lord Wharton, a petition to represent their grievances to the King, crown, and parliament, that so they would contribute for the entertainment of two regiments for one month; that he made them delete that clause of a parliament, knowing the King's resolution to call it of his own goodness, without petition from any; that he had the King's consent and direction for levying of that pay, in presence of the peers, some consenting, none contradicting, which he took for their full consent; that his commission carried him to levy so many of the trained bands as he thought meet; that those who would not serve in person, were bound, in all reason, to supply those who did.

Maynard and Glyn replied, that it was a levying of war upon the subjects by force of soldiers, to exact money by them; that it was not with consent of the shire, many were gone out of town, fundry dissented, divers were Papists; these consented but for one month; his commission gave him power to call persons to serve the King, but not for service to exact money; and that the peers disclaimed all such warrant.

14. Thursday the 8th of April, the fourteenth session. The twenty-eighth article they passed. All being set, and the Deputy brought to the bar on his knees, after the accustomed manner, he was desired to say for himself what he could, that so the House of Commons may sum up all before the sentence. He said, he was prepared to answer
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the particular articles omitted, and what they would be pleased to say farther ; but for the summing up of all his answers, he was not prepared to answer, and for that humbly craved time till to-morrow. They opposed that, shewing he had got much more time for his defence than ever any, and the cause did allow ; yet the Lords, after some debate, did grant it. Always in the afternoons, when there remained any time, committees, especially for the enormities of churchmen, did meet and sit some hours.

15. Friday April 9th, the fifteenth session. All being met and waiting on, about nine Sir George Wentworth came, and declared to the Lords, that all last night his brother was so afflicted with the stone, that this morning albeit much better, yet he was all utterly unable to stir out of bed. Maynard and Glyn pressed they might go on ; the excuse was but feigned ; and however being heard on all the articles, his presence was needless. The lieutenant of the tower being put to his oath, deponed, That Strafford said to him, he was unable to come ; his great unwillingness was so much the more doubted. As for the witnessing of it, he sent only the groom of his chamber, a poor footman within sixteen years, and that to-morrow he was as vigorous as any day before. However, the conclusion was, that to-morrow, whether he was absent or present, they should not fail to go on.

16. Saturday April 10th, the sixteenth session. All being set, before the Deputy began to speak, Mr Glyn pressed to hear some witnesses they had reserved, expressly on the twenty-first article. Strafford pressed for the like favour, that he might, on some preceding articles, get leave to examine witnesses ; thereupon ariseth a long debate. The Lords adjourned. When they returned, their decret was, the Commons should call what witnesses they pleased ; and Strafford also. This the Commons stormed at. After much jangling, Glyn declared, they were content Strafford should in this have equal favour with them ; that they sought no more but witnesses to be examined upon one article, and that these only which they had expressly reserved in the time ; to grant more favour to Strafford than they craved, was manifest injustice. The matter was, young Sir Harry Vane had fallen, by accident, among his father's papers,
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on a note written by him as secretary, the day of the dissolving of the last parliament, wherein was contained the voices which the Lieutenant, Canterbury, and Cottington had given at the council-board the 5th of May, when the parliament was dissolved, for the Scots war, and for the illegal levying of money. Mr Pym had come in on Sir Harry Vane in the time, and persuaded him to take a double of that note. The principal and all other papers concerning the dissolution of the last parliament, at the sitting down of this new, were burnt. The copy by him was produced in the house, and did much confirm the minds of all Strafford's witnesses; yet for young Sir Harry's cause, a very gracious youth, they resolved to make no use in publick of his testimony, except in case of necessity, which when they conceived was clear, the Lords adjourned one hour large: at their return, their decree was against the expectation of all. It kythed Strafford's friends were strongest in the higher house; yea, to our great admiration, we learned that not a man but Pagot voiced otherways. My Lord Steward read the first part of it, That the Lords conceived, for gaining of time, that both the Commons and Strafford should use no farther witness. The advocates refused to give any answer till they had the receipt of the decree; so my Lord Steward went on, and read, But if the Commons thought meet to examine further witnesses, they might do it in all the articles; and they, as equal judges to both, conceived that Strafford might do the same. At once the Commons began to grumble. Glyn posed him on what articles he would examine witnesses, as if he had no more witnesses. Indeed, whatever he professed, he told them sadly he had, and these he conceived as advantageous to him, as any they had for them; yet if they would go on, he would be content to quit that advantage. They did not believe him; but put him to name the articles. He named one, another, a third, a fourth; and not being to like to make an end, the Commons, on both sides of the house, rose in a fury, with a shout of Withdraw! Withdraw! Withdraw! got all to their feet, on with their hats, cocked their beavers in the King's sight. We all feared it should go to a present tumult. They went all away in confusion; Strafford flipt away to his barge, and to the tower, glad to be gone lest he should be torn in pieces; the King went home in silence; the Lords to their house. In the af-

ternoon the Commons met, presently resolved on a bill of attainder; that is, to attain and condemn Strafford in their own house as judges, and thereafter require the Lords and the King to confirm their sentence; if they refused, to protest, and declare to all their shires, that they had deserted the parliament for denial of justice. While they were on this advisement, the Lords sent a message to them for a conference. They shewed, that they had no leisure to confer with them: but after their conclusion, they sent up some to know the Lords mind; for the matter was nothing concerning Strafford, for the Lords thought meet yet not to touch that wound, but another matter, more pleasant to them, the entertainment of the Scots army for another month. The other day, when the Commons found that the Lords, longer than ordinary, neglected to agree with the Scots commissioners for a further cessation, fell in fear lest the King and Lords should keep the Scots no longer, and so they were undone; therefore the house, which they had never done before, decreed to move the Lords to crave a further cessation but only for a fortnight; which time did much displease us, for we thought it shewed their desire also to be quickly rid of us: but this difference betwixt the houses made both at once fain to flatter us, and give us many good words, albeit no silver; yet they say now money in store is coming.

On Sunday the 11th, following, D. Bray, in Westminster-church, made his recantation-sermon for licensing Pocklington's *Altar Christianum*, and *Sunday no Sabbath*. The lower house ordained the mayor to see them both burnt at Cheapside, and Bray the licenser to read out of a paper, his condemnation of a number of errors which he had licensed. He did so with a great deal of feigned repentance, for the lower house this year makes many hypocrites.

On Monday the 12th, with much ado, the houses were gotten to accord, that the lower house should come as before, by way of committee, to follow what remained in their process, passing the debate of new witnesses, and keeping their bill of attainder on foot at their pleasure.

17. Tuesday the 13th, the seventeenth session. All being set as before, Strafford made a speech large two hours and an half, went through all the articles, but these three which imported statute treason, the fifteenth, twenty-first,

ty-first, twenty-seventh, and others which were alledged, as he spake, for constructive and consequential treason. First the articles bearing his words, then these which had his counsels and deeds. To all he repeated not new, but the best of his former answers; and, in the end, after some lashness and fagging, he made such a pathetic oration for an half-hour, as ever comedian did upon a stage. The matter and expression was exceeding brave: doubtless, if he had grace or civil goodness, he is a most eloquent man. The speech you have it here in print. One passage made it most spoken of; his breaking off in weeping and silence, when he spoke of his first wife. Some took it for a true defect in his memory: others, and the most part, for a notable part of his rhetorick: some that true grief, and remorse at that remembrance, had stopt his mouth; for they say, that his first lady, the Earl of Clare's sister, being with child, and finding one of his whore's letters, brought it to him, and chiding him therefor, he struck her on the breast, whereof shortly she died.

Mr Glyn followed with a speech three hours long, first kept his method, and answered what he brought to, all pretty well. Then, after his own premeditate order, he went through all the twenty-eight articles as they lay, applying them well. The great length of the speech made him sag in the end. He referred the odiousness of the crime to the handling of another. This was Mr Pym, who truly, to the confession of all, in half an hour, made one of the most eloquent, wise, free speeches, that ever we heard, or I think shall ever hear. Some of the passages, and no more but some, and these defaced, I send you in print, as they have been taken in speaking by some common hand. To humble the man, God let his memory fail him a little before the end. His papers he looked on; but they could not help him to a point or two, so he behoved to pass them. I believe the King never heard a lecture of so free language against that his idolized prerogative. Strafford, after all, craved the benefit of his counsel from the Lords. The Commons said they would advise. The days following, there was daily conference betwixt the Lords and the Commons to hear Strafford's counsel; at last, on Friday, the Commons agreed to it; so on Saturday the houses met as before. Mr Loo, the Prince's attorney, spake for half an hour of the statutes of treason, shewing all he could, that none of Strafford's

alleged actions did come under them. After him, Mr Gardiner, Recorder of London, offered to handle any law-question, when the Lords would propone a particular case; but till then they would say no more at random. For divers days thereafter the House of Commons went on with their bill of attainder. When it was read three divers days, at last it was voted and carried, only 58 contradicting. For this there was great joy among us all, and praise to God. These friends of Strafford's were much discountenanced by all honest men. Some printed their names, and fixed them on publick ways. Lord Digby, their chief, was very near put in the tower; but with many fair words he got himself off: yet his credit in the house is gone; whereof we are glad; for he is a great patron of bishops. The lower house is more united than ever; and they say not far from a covenant. They went with a bill to the higher house. It was but coldly received there. Lord Saville, one of the stoutest Lords in all England for the country's and our cause at the first, but since we made him a counsellor, clearly the court-way for Strafford and all the court-designs; he thought the receiving the bill into the house prejudicial to the privilege of the Peers. Essex took him presently up, and required him to explain himself. While he is doing it, Stamford admonisheth him, he did not explain the words he spake, but others. He replied, That Stamford durst not speak so to him in another place. He answered, if both were without the bar, he would speak so to him in another place; and he durst not challenge it. The rest crieth on them to withdraw. Stamford readily removeth. Saville sat still till Essex cried to him to remove. They packed up betwixt themselves thus and sua. In the mean time the Commons were voicing down the precedency of York, as a needless and hurtful court. This struck Saville to the heart; for it was his great design to be President in Strafford's stead. When the Commons the other day voiced the convocation-men in a fine of L. 160,000 Sterling, Canterbury in L. 20,000, York's benefice in L. 10,000, Wren in L. 500, the rest proportionably, and their benefices to be sequestered till that money be paid to the Lords of the Scots treaty, they excepted Saville from the trouble of that receipt, being taken up with the affairs of the state, and laid that burden on Stamford, though none of the treaters. The Commons moved the
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Lords to crave the King's long-delayed answer to their three propositions. Yesterday they got their answer, little to their contentment, after we had given the Prince of Orange the compliment, we heard, in the Banqueting-house, where the King met both the houses. To the first, Of removing Papists from court, he said, He would do so; but with as little scandal as can be. To the 2d, Of disarming the Papists, He was content it should be done according to law. To the 3d, The disbanding the Irish army, he said, He had been thinking oft on it; but there was difficulties in it: that it was his intention to dissolve all the armies, and settle all his dominions in that peace wherein he received them from his father; but for that end two things were necessary, the satisfaction of the Scots grievances, and money. Of the last they were the only masters; and the sooner they provided for it, it was the better: In the first, though he was judge, yet with their advice, with all diligence he would take a final course.

This day Mr St John, the King's Solicitor, before both the houses, to satisfy the scruples which might mar the Lords in passing the Commons bill of attainder, shewed, in a speech of three hours, how the facts proven of Strafford were high treason, expressly against many statutes, and answered all the laws seeming to import the contrary; and however no law had made them treason, yet by a number of examples in their law, he shewed how the parliament might very legally condemn his singular case, of everting all law, of treason. Upon some fears of escape, the Lords, at the Commons desire, have commanded Sir William Balfour to keep him close prisoner. But no more now ado, but the Lords, one of these days, to confirm the bill; and then the King's confirmation must be had. Unhappy men put the King in harder straits daily. Had the Commons gone on in the former way of pursuit, the King might have been a patient, and only beheld the striking off of Strafford's head; but now they have put them on a bill, which will force the King either to be our agent, and formal voicer to his death, or else do the world knows not what. The Prince of Orange's marriage is expected shall be solemnized on Sunday next. Whether the Princess, of ten years of age, shall be sent to Holland presently, we know not.

All foreign news you have in four or five printed gazettes.

zettes. All the papers of our treaty you have also. Whether our parliament keeps the date, and our treaty ends presently, I yet know not. They have now put the King on thoughts of coming to Scotland in June. Our unfriends are the authors of these counsels; but a very few days will open many secrets. Pray to God for our cause and church. God will help us against all men and devils. No man is to be trusted: the best are naturally false. Dear brethren, neglect not my place. Fain would I be at it to disburden you of that cure; you may believe me without oath. The length of this recompenses the delay of it so much the more, as preaching and printing gives me little spare time. The Lord be with you all, and send us a blyth and short meeting.

Your brother and humble servant,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

Our post has staid some days longer than we expected; so know further, that on Saturday, the 1st of May, the King came to the higher house, called for the lower house, declared to them, that in his conscience Strafford was free of all treason. The speech you have here, together with the city's last petition for justice. The Commons the day before had sent up to the Lords two bills; one for the Turkish pirates, which oft taketh slaves from the west part of England; another for the Romish pirates, to have the clergy out of all civil power, and the bishops out of the higher house. The King in private declared his resolution never to yield to such a motion. All these things coming together on the Commons, put them in an high mood. They thought themselves slighted in all things; they saw, that Strafford's paper informations did yet guide all; they went down to their house in great malecontentment. Mr Pym, lest they should break out in some rash distemper, advised to adjourn the house till Monday, without speaking of any purposes. His counsel was followed. On Sunday, in the King's chapel, both the Queens being present at service, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York led in Princess Mary to the chapel, convoyed with a number of ladies of her own age, of nine or ten years, all in cloth of silver. The Prince of Orange went in before, with the ambassadors, and his cousins of Tremmul and Nassau. The King gave him his bride. Good Bishop Wren made the marriage. At night, before all the court, they went

to bed in the Queen's chamber. A little after the King and Queen had bid the bridegroom good-night as their son, he, as it was appointed, arose, and went to his bed in the King's chamber. The precipitation of this marriage is feared by many. We have met at length sometimes with D. Rivet; he is fully in our minds, and against the bishops. On Monday, some thousands of citizens and apprentices waited all day at Westminster, cried to every Lord as they went out and in, in a loud and hideous voice, for justice against Strafford, and all traitors. In the afternoon, being informed, that the lieutenant of the Tower had received a warrant to take in, upon his allegiance, a 100 soldiers, with a captain, who had been Strafford's page, they gave in a paper of this. The Lords were fain to mitigate them with good words, also to send for the guard of the tower that night, Essex, Brook, and Newport, with 500 of the trained bands of the hamlets. All this time the lower house was inclosed from seven in the morning to eight at night. After much debate, at last, blessed be the name of the Lord, they all swore and subscribed the writ which here you have, I hope in substance our Scottish covenant. God maketh our enemies the instruments of all our good. We see now, that it hath been in a happy time that so much time hath been lost about Strafford's head. But to-day, and hereafter, great things are expected, whereof you shall be advertised.

Tuesday, May 4. 1641.

This day was spent on the subscribing and swearing of the protestation in the higher house. The bishops have put their hands to it, and we like it all the worse. We are perplexed only for one point of it, which was passed partly through inadvertency, partly because no more could be obtained.

In the doctrine of the church of England, in the articles of their confession, both bishops and ceremonies are expressed; for which cause divers of the best refuse to subscribe in the city. Many commentars are fetched to elude this; but the most satisfactory is, that at swearing and subscribing in the lower house, it was declared expressly, by the doctrine they meant not the government nor ceremonies, and that quickly they shall declare this, by ingiving of bills against both. If this be all, all is well; else not. Wednesday a sudden bruit ran through the ci-

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ty, that the Papists had set the lower house on fire, and had beset it with arms : in a clap all the city is an alarm ; shops closed ; a world of people in arms runs down to Westminster. When they came, they found the report all utterly groundless. The matter was, about ten o'clock some coming out of the lower house, had said there was hot work and a great fire within ; which being mistaken, put the rash and foolish alarm abroad. The hot work was a most weighty matter indeed, the debating upon a design, which is alledged the English army was set on, to march towards London for dissolving the parliament. If this be true, it will be the most dangerous for the court that yet has been spoken of. However, all the servants of the King and Queen are commanded to attend, and no where to depart till they be tried in this strange affair. All thir things hold out our affairs as if they were not. This is a feeding storm. At supper this night we hear the lower house, in the afternoon, has voiced, that it is a part of their sworn liberty, that no parliament shall be adjourned, or dissolved, without the consent of the House of Commons. The higher house has, with one consent, voiced Strafford guilty of the facts charged, especially in the fifteenth, twenty-first, twenty-seventh articles ; only nineteen, who were his allies, or witnesses, went out without voicing. To-morrow, it is thought, they will find these facts treason, and his head to be forefront. His petition to reply to St John was rejected. Pembroke, Chamberlain of the King's house, Dorset of the Queen's, Newcastle of the Prince's, came, and arrested all the servants of the King, Queen, and Prince, both men and women, that they stir not without the King and parliament's leave. The fairest way that can be to stay the voyage, they say, were intended, presently after the Prince of Orange's dismissal, of the King's to the army, of the Prince's to Wales, of the Queen's to Portsmouth, whither long ago, they say, her jewels went ; a place, they say, to be fortified for receiving of the French. These things are like to draw deep. The King is now very sad and pensive ; yet no man has the least intention against him : if they had, the Scots, for all their quarrels, would have their hearts blood : but the farthest is the punishing of false knaves, who have too long abused the King and us all. The Mayor is commanded to keep a strong watch upon the Tower. But I must break off, and leave something till the next.

My best affections to you all, both brethren and elders. Dear brethren, have a care of my flock. I hope now to come home shortly. This letter has twenty-four pages, the other papers has forty-two pages. I have sent to my Lord also the seven last Gazettes for foreign news; also Strafford's and Pym's speech, with the covenant in print.

Your servant in the Lord, ROBERT BAILLIE.

May 7.

29. *Mr Baillie to Lord Montgomery. Gravesend, June 2.*
Tuesday morning, 10 o'clock.

My Lord,

GRAVESEND is scant of paper. I am now going to ship. No more news than before for the present. Your good father is a great courtier. If it hold, he is like to be first, both with King and Queen; but sundry think it is so sudden, and so great a change, that it cannot hold. The King seems yet resolute to go to Scotland, albeit the difficulties of the journey be great, and daily on all hands increaseth. It is like this week L. 200,000 Sterling shall be delivered for disbanding the most part of your army, and security given for the rest. They speak of keeping still in Newcastle the half of you; but I believe the bill of abolishing bishops, to be agitate on Thursday, may work a great alteration in many things; and to the end of this week nothing certain can be pronounced of any thing. I have taken course to be informed by letters how all goes. I have directed to send all my letters to you. Your Lordship, for your better information in my absence, may break up all that is directed to me, and close all in a paper, to be sent to your Lady with the first occasion. It seems very inexpedient you should, on any occasion, leave the army for a twenty days; for in that time it is like many things now uncertain, shall be determined. Your letters from the General, from Balmerino, from the committee, writing for Mr Blair and me by name, made us to go before it was meet. When we heard, that Mr Pollock, Mr Bonner, Mr Bruce, and others, thought our coming to Newcastle needless, which your Lordship will declare, if any inquire why we came not. They would gladly have had us staying when we were ready to go; but being once so fairly dismissed, we would not engage again,

being so long absent from our charges. My man, James Lawrie, give him letters with him to the General, Major Baillie, to Meldrum and Durie; prevade not to obtain his pay. Your Lordship must assist him with the General to obtain my most reasonable desire. The master is calling us a shipboard. I must break off. The Lord be with your Lordship.—Your Lordship's servant,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

30. To Mr William Spang.

A Journal of the General Assembly and Parliament 1641.

Cousin,

SINCE your last, the 1st of August, you have received two of mine, and this is a third; if virtue were in length, worth any six of yours.

The carriage of our assembly was this. Since the assembly of Aberdeen there was a continual heartburning betwixt the favourers of Mr Harry Guthrie and Leckie; as in my discourse of that assembly you may see I foretold. As I came from London through Edinburgh, I found the misunderstanding so great, that I advised Argyle to take notice of it in time; and when Mr Archibald Johnston came home, I wrote to him to draw to him some of the parties for advisement how to prevent discord. For all that I could do, at my coming to Edinburgh on Saturday, July 17. I found Leckie, and many that favoured him, peremptor, not only to accuse Mr Harry Guthrie, but to have the acts of Aberdeen about meetings and read prayers cancelled. They were much galled with the flanders went upon them, for the abusers of privy meetings, and other things falsely fathered on them. On the other part, Mr Harry, and many with him, were no less resolute to defend all that passed in Aberdeen, and to have sharp censures concluded in the next assembly against all that were for novations, not approved by our church. With these minds went too many to St Andrew's, as if it had been a place of combat. Our only remedy against such scandalous debates were our prayers to God, which carefully were offered the Sabbath before we came from home in a solemn humiliation for a blessing to the ensuing assembly.

assembly. This labour, we found, was not for nought; for at once we found the good hand of God with us above expectation.

The King had sent his warrant to Lord Weems to sit, with as ample a commission as either Hamilton or Traquair. His Majesty intended this service for Southesk, by Traquair's advice, who yet had too great hand in affairs; but Mr Henderson diverted the King from that man, towards whom the country had so evil an eye. For what special respects Weems fell to be next, I do not know; however, the modesty and simplicity of the man made him displeasing to none. When we came to St Andrew's, our first perplexity was about a moderator. Mr Henderson was passionately desired in so hard a time; but there was no certainty of his presence. Mr Harry Pollock, on whom the voices would have fallen next, had of purpose absented himself. The rest who were met were esteemed so far engaged to the question to be debated. Judge then what strait of men was there, when the like of me, who to this day had declined to moderate a presbytery, was shored to be lected for to moderate a general assembly. Yet, after much secret advisement with the Commissioner, on Monday, with much ado, that difficulty was overcome.

1. On Tuesday, the 20th, the first day of our assembly, the last moderator, Mr Andrew Ramsay, preached the 122d psalm. According to his way, he went over it all. The first day of our assembly is appointed for fasting and humiliation. Of this disposition there was not so much this day among us as needed. After sermon we met in the Old College-hall. Mr Andrew prayed; the commissions were received by Mr Archibald Johnston; many of the commissioners were members of parliament; divers others also, upon the certain expectation of the assembly's translation to Edinburgh, had not come over. His Grace's commission in Latin was read; one clause thereof importing, at the Commissioner's advice, the assembly's translation, was demurred on by the clerk, as intruding on the assembly's liberties; yet it was not publicly questioned. A letter from his Majesty to the assembly, so full of grace and favour as we could have wished, was read. The answering of it was laid on Mr David Lindsay of Belhelvie. His draught in the end of Edinburgh assembly was read;

but it was so long and luxuriant, that Mr Henderson was caused to make that short, decided, and nervous answer.

The parliament had sent over a commissioner to us, one from ilk estate, Cassils, Auldbar, Provost of Dyfart, intreating, without any prescription, that in regard many of them were members of the assembly, could not, without detriment to the publick, attend at St Andrew's, we would be pleased to enter in no weighty action, especially in chusing a moderator, wherein they desired to have voice, before we returned to Edinburgh. In the translation there was no difficulty; but in the delay to chuse a moderator, the difficulty was huge. The most thought the assembly could not be constitute, and so was incapable to perform any act, let be so great a one as a translation, before a moderator was chosen. Some leading men, who would have had the moderation to themselves, or to those who favoured their intentions, urged a present election. The matter was remitted to the next session; wherein, to our great comfort, it was determined with far greater ease than any expected. Many of us thinking the delay impossible to be obtained, had concluded to voice for James Bonner; yet to-morrow, the earnestness of the commissioners from the parliament, the clerk finding in the register some such old practise, the certain hopes of Mr Henderson's near return, his Grace permitting the matter to our own option, whilkas before some about him made him declare oft, that that delay would legally evacuate his commission; Mr David Dalgleish, overcoming in boldness his good friend Mr Harry Guthrie, stoutly reasoning the sufficient formality of continuing by voices the old moderator, *ad hunc actum*, to transfer, and to chuse a new moderator in the beginning of the translated assembly, by plurality of voices it was clearly carried. We took that for a certain presage of God's assistance in all subsequent purposes.

The next session was appointed to be held at Edinburgh, the 27th. No more but a supplication of D. Harry Reid, wherein he complained, that after his long service in the kirk and divinity-schools, he had been made to demit his place, by threats, in his extreme old age and poverty. The case was very invidious, and reflected much on his colleagues in the town and New college. The matter, I heard, was, that he, as principal, had given warrant for lifting the New-college rents, whiles to a wicked knave his son, whiles to D. Panter, and others; so that no count could

could be made by him of much money. Mr S. Rutherford, I think, caused complain of this to the estates when we were at London. They sent over Newton and William Ridge, rigorous enough, either to get account of him, or to lay him in ward. Upon the fear of this evil, he offered to demit his place; and his demission was taken, reserving 500 merks a-year to him for his entertainment. When his petition came to be considered in Edinburgh, his good friend Mr Henderson guided it so, that with a great deal of commendation to the old man, large as great, I am sure, as he ever deserved, it was voiced, that his demission should be rendered to him; that, according to the acts of our old assemblies anent failed ministers or professors, he should all his lifetime enjoy his full rent and honour, without any diminution.

When we came back to Edinburgh, to our great joy we found Mr Henderson and Mr Gillespie come home. That week was spent in privy consultations for accomodating the feared differences. Argyle and Cassils drew together in Loudon's chamber the ministers of Edinburgh, Mess. Dick, Blair, Rutherford, Cant, me, and some others. All the ministers of Edinburgh were chafed at their people's carriage towards them. They would have been at the simple discharge of all privy meetings, but those of a family; and for this the act of Aberdeen was alledged by them, and many more: for this the other part would have had that act recalled or expounded. I marvelled much of both their forgetting the meaning and occasion of that act, set down at length to you in my letters. Then it was at last agreed, that Aberdeen act should be altogether mislaid; that a draught should be made for ordering these meetings now in question. The paper drawn up by Mr Henderson the 10th of June, which pleased all well, that I had conferred with both, misliked the ministers of Edinburgh, and above all Mr D. Calderwood could not abide it. The clause in it of the number, which I liked best, did most mislike them; they alledged the permitting of any to meet, in the smallest numbers, was an establishing by an act the thing itself. Many meetings there were for little purpose. It was appointed, that Mr Dickson and Mr Blair should meet with Mr Henderson and Mr Will. Colvil, and set down their minds. Their draught was long, and too general. It was laid again on Mr David Dickson, with whom he pleased, to write down his mind. That form
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also did not please. At last Mr Henderson essayed it. His model liked us best; yet Mr D. Calderwood started mightily at it. We desired him to dite what he pleased; notwithstanding we were all refreshed with a certain hope of a solid agreement; for Mr Dickson and Mr Blair, and the rest who were suspected of innovating, purged themselves fully of all such intentions, and were ready to receive any of the models any had proponed. And being posed, what was their minds anent all the novations? Mr Andrew Ramsay could enumerate such as omitting, Glory to the Father, kneeling in the pulpit, discountenancing read prayers, &c. They gave answer satisfactory, that betwixt us and them there was no discrepance at all. At last Mr Henderson fell on that model, which thereafter was voiced and printed. This happy concord, whereof Argyle and Henderson were happy instruments, will, we trust, be a great blessing to the whole land, which every where began to be fashed with idle toys.

On Tuesday, July 27th, we met before noon in the Grayfriars. After prayer, Mr Andrew Fairfoul required, that his commission should be given to Mr Henderson, in regard that the presbytery had chosen Mr Andrew Ramsay, Mr Andrew Pollock, and Mr Alexander Henderson, if he should be present, and him only in case of Mr Henderson's absence. So, albeit Mr John Adamson had, at his own hand, put in his own name in the commission at the first meeting in St Andrew's, and had voiced there as commissioner; yet Mr Henderson being now present, he required to be free of the burden, which he had undertaken only in case of his absence. While the matter is going to voicing, Mr Calderwood, albeit no commissioner, reasoned very passionately, that Mr Henderson was incapable of a commission. In this Mr Henderson seconded him. Always, when it came to voicing, Mr Henderson's commission was unanimously received. The next question was about a new leet for a new moderator. The old fashion was, that the former moderator leeted whom he would, and the assembly added whom they pleased. An overture had passed at Aberdeen, that every provincial synod should have one of their number to be on the leets for moderator, one to be on the committee of bills, one for the reports, and one for the overtures. The Northlandmen pressed much to have it so: but it was found unreasonable; and that overture not being an act,
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and not being booked, was rejected. Yet they got Belhelvie added to the leet which Mr Andrew gave in. Mr Henderson declared earnestly against the burden of moderation; yet the most of the votes fell on him. The nobles were for Mr Henry Pollock, some for Bonner, some for Belhelvie, none at all for Adamson, Dalgleish, Somer-vel, Blackhall. No more was done in that session; only Argyle told us, that the parliament was content to have but one session a-day, and that in the afternoon, hoping the assembly would be pleased to make but one session also, and that in the forenoon, that so the commissioners might get both assembly and parliament attended. This was agreed to.

Wednesday the 28th. The moderator read the overtures which I had drawn up, and were enacted at Aberdeen, for ordering of the house. He pressed them all; yet, through negligence to exact them, thereafter we fell at once into our old misorders. Always we hope that the exact order the parliament has now taken for ruling their house, will make us, ere long, follow their good example. He read also a list of names for the committees of bills and reports. Now for the overtures: Till those of Aberdeen were considered, very hardly would he permit any to be added to those of his own number. For assessors to himself, he shewed he would advertise privily those whom most he needed. Four were named to appoint preachers for all the churches, of which Mr James Bonner, my good friend, being chief, by his favour I got myself shifted of that burthen, as in all this assembly I did what I could to hold myself quiet, and well near mute. Mr Calderwood fell on again impertinently, and very peevishly, as if it had been almost a null, an evil-constitute meeting, for being translated without a moderator permanent, and chusing of him for moderator who had no commission. Mr Henderson dealt very patiently, and respectfully with him: at last his Grace commanded him silence. The moderator caused read some letters, which were given him in England for the assembly. The first was from a number of our gracious brethren of the ministry at London, and about it, congratulating our happy proceeding, shewing their hopes to get our discipline established there, telling that some of their brethren, who were for independency of congregations, were great hindrances to that design; also that they gave out that some of the most eminent

minent men in the ministry with us, inclined their way. The men they meant by, Mr Henderson told us, were Mr D. Dickson, and Mr Cant; but none in all the assembly were more against independency than these two. The matter, after some days, was voiced: all in one voice rejected that confusion, as contrary directly to our covenant; and appointed Mr Henderson to write a courteous answer to our English brethren; which he did very accurately. If I can, you shall have a copy thereof.

The next was from Mr Durie, for assistance to his negotiation of peace amongst Protestants. While some were beginning to say somewhat to the man's prejudice, I excused all, so that his motion was received; and it was laid on Mr Andrew Ramsay, Mr Blair, Mr Gillespie, and me, to frame an answer. We left the labour to Mr Blair, who did it well enough, in a fair genteel general, appointing him to keep, when he pleased, correspondence with the ministers of Edinburgh. A third was from D. Sibbald of Aberdeen, supplicating for his books, which at the prior assembly were taken from him. It was granted that he should have all except some of his sermons, whereupon a part of his process was grounded. A fourth was from Mr John Guthrie, Bishop of Murray, supplicating that his place, for a little time more, might be kept for him. It was rejected as unreasonable, and his presbytery appointed to plant his place; yea, order was given, that none who had delayed so long to come in the covenant, should be received, without a singular measure of satisfaction and trial, to be approved by the general assembly. The moderator fell on a notable motion, of drawing up a Confession of Faith, a Catechism, a Directory for all the parts of the publick worship, and platform of government, wherein possibly England and we might agree. All approved the motion; and thereafter the burden of that labour was laid on the back of the mover, with liberty to vaik from preaching whenever he pleased, and to take help of whom he thought meet. He did not incline to undertake it, yet it will lie on him; and readily in this he may do some good.

Thursday the 29th. The moderators of the committees had no matter prepared for the assembly; so we put off that session with general discourses, especially upon the matter of translation, which had most troubled us in bygone synods, and was like to do so in this also. A com-

mittee was appointed to find out overtures for that difficult matter. Lest I should be prejudged, I got it on Lord Eglington and Mr Robert Barclay. Glasgow also, by their importunity, got on Dr Strang and D. Dickson. The presbytery of Glasgow, it were long to tell you the way how they stifled both Mr Dickson and Mr Ramsay from being commissioners. This was very evil taken by the whole country, and turned over to Glasgow's prejudice: yet Mr David was used no otherwise by the assembly than if he had been a prime commissioner. This committee did nothing for a day or two, and that, it was publickly complained, because D. Strang and Mr David, for their own interest, marred the rest; so they, and with them my Lord Eglington and Mr Robert Barclay, were removed from that committee. Thereafter they blocked a number of tolerable overtures; the conclusion whereof was remitted to the next general assembly. The moderator advised the town of Edinburgh, and other prime burrows, to entertain abroad some good spirits, who might be their own, if they proved apt for their service. Also he shewed the expediency of calling home one Mr Thomas Young from England, the author of *Dies Dominicae*, and of the *Synectymnias* for the most part; and of Mr Colvin from Sedan, to whose commendation he spake much. If he has done any thing in private, let us have it, and write what ye know of his abilities. There was a committee appointed to consider the state of our far remote churches of the Isles, of Lochaber, Orkney, and Shetland. Some present course was taken for Lochaber; and it was laid on Mr Robert Blair, and Mr Andrew Affleck, to go in the Spring to visit Arran and some near isles. There was a committee appointed to consider the advancement of the weal of colleges and schools. All their consultations we hope in time will produce good fruits.

Friday, the 30th, came in a number of particular bills; yea, some days thereafter, there came more than 200, for augmentation of stipends, for dividing or changing of churches; all which, without reading, were referred to the parliament; regrets for the enormous sins of the land. The removing of monuments of superstition, from divers parts of the country yet remaining, was recommended to the presbyteries. Mr John Guthrie, Bishop of Murray, sent out of the tolbooth, to the assembly, a supplication to confer with the modera-

tor, and some others. All the subject of his discourse with them, as also of divers conferences he had before with the ministers of Edinburgh, was only a stiff wrangling about the formality of the process of his excommunication. He sent in another supplication thereafter for the same end, but was neglected; for he and other of those men, seem to be obdured in perverseness: yet it is like, that if the King and we had settled sure in parliament, there are few of them, if any, but will supplicate to be permitted to do all that shall be prescribed.

Saturday, the 31st, no particular business was handled worth the writing. Aberdeen, in their commission from the general assembly, had met and decerned Mr George Gillespie, then at London, for their town-minister, and Mr Edward Wright for their divinity-professor, in the Marischal college. Mr Gillespie's cause came then to be handled. His Grace pleaded, that these fifty years he and his people had been vexed with a most weak minister; that he had got Mr George admitted the first in Scotland without the bishops consent. Mr George spake well for himself, that he nor his people were never advertised till the decret was passed, and divers other things. The dispute was long and hot: it was remitted to the next session. Argyle spake of the regret many ministers made under payment of their stipends, desired the assembly to find overtures for remeid, and promised the parliament would consider what should be proponed.

On Sunday afternoon, before the commissioners, I heard Mr Blair teach very gravely for peace, and abstinence from all such meetings, as in former times had been very profitable, but now were inexpedient, unlawful, and schismatical. This some mistook, but the most took it very well from him. Truly, I bear that man record, that in all his English voyages, in many passages of the assembly, private and publick, he contributed as much to the pacifying of our differences as any, and much more than many. That day a very unhappy accident fell in the hand of a minister, Mr Thomas Lamb, who had been deposed by the blind Bishop of Galloway, for divers quarrels; but he gave it only out for disobedience in ceremonies. The ministers of Edinburgh had obtained for him a church in the presbytery of Peebles. The man had always been of a contentious humour. They say he had struck a man, whereof he died. However his presbytery,

ry, for his perverseness and contentions; had suspended him. He had appealed to the general assembly. The committee, on Saturday, had agreed them, and remitted him to the presbytery. On Sunday, after both sermons in Leith, he told Mr James however that he was displeased with that accord, and would complain to the assembly; both of the committee and his presbytery. Immediately going to ease himself among the stuff, a young man to whom the stuff belonged, fell upon him with evil language, taking up his cloak and gloves: after some mutual jarring, when he had got his cloak and gloves again, he fell in some more quarrelling with the young man, and with his whinger struck him, whereof presently he died. He wrote a pitiful supplication to the assembly, to obtain some delay of his execution, till his wife and friends might come to him. This was granted. He obtained easily a letter of Slayans from the party; but we think the Constable will cause execute him; and so much the more, because he a minister, on the Sabbath day, had committed that villainy in the time of the assembly and parliament.

Monday, the 2d of August, the parliament sat not, so we had two sessions. The forenoon was taken up with the business of Aberdeen. Mr Andrew Cant laid out Aberdeen's necessities very pathetically; Mr David Lindsay and Provost Lesly, shewing their proceedings in Mr Gillespie's election to have been punctually according to the words of their commission. Notwithstanding the moderator, desiring Mr George to stay still in Fife for the use of St Andrew's, did so state the question, for all the northlandmen could say to the contrary, and notwithstanding also of Argyle's evident seconding them. His abode at Weems was craved by plurality of voices; yea, when they pressed Mr Edward Wright's transportation, albeit all that favoured Mr David Dickson did voice for them: yet they lost that cause also, in regard it was manifest before the meeting of that committee, that Mr Edward was admitted to the church of Glasgow, and before his citation to come to that committee, or his knowledge of Aberdeen's invitation, he was agreed with Glasgow, and had obtained his dismissal from the presbytery of Stirling. Mr Robert Ramsay had set the town of Glasgow on that man, whereof I suspect he now repents. The man is learned and blameless, but it is not like

Mr David's way, nor among the most prudent. Factions among that people and presbytery are like to grow. I wish they come not to a shameful hearing, and that quickly, on the occasion of Mr Hugh Blair's election to that town's ministry. Sir John Scot's petition, to have a description of our sherrifdom, by some in every presbytery, to be set before the maps you have in hand, is granted.

In the afternoon Mr Andrew Ker, minister at Carrin, being transported by the provincial synod of Lothian to the burgh of Linlithgow, had appealed to the general assembly. His appeal was voiced null. This preparative made Glasgow too eager to call my cause; but they found the case many ways unlike. At Aberdeen there had been much ado for planting of Inverness. The Laird of Steinson, patron, had presented Mr James Annan. More than the two part of the parish speaking Irish, obtained Mr Murdoch Macbaine, a bold well-speaking man, to be conjoined to an equal stipend and burden. This equality Mr Murdoch urged, and refused to preach to the Irish congregation but day about, so every other Sunday they sang dumb. After some days travel, it was thus agreed, that a third man should be got to those who had never more than one before, to preach in Irish on 500 merks, the town to pay three, the two ministers each to pay one. We being agreed privately, the moderator thought it time to move the question about meetings, and regretted the sinister rumours thereanent. It was remitted to a committee in the moderator's chamber. After two afternoon's conference, Mr Henderson fell on the model you have in print. On Wednesday he read it once, twice, thrice. Many required delay to voice till tomorrow, and a copy of the writ. All delay was flatly refused; but any man was permitted to say what he would, if it were to ten at night. Mr Catherwood was impertinent still in his opposition. Mr Harry Guthrie, and those who were in this point, were feared to be more opposite than he had been. All called to the committee, and read at length. Some who craved delay were shortly taken up. Fear of raising and fomenting needless scruples, if that paper had run a showering through the city, before it had been concluded, made the moderator peremptorily refuse that which is now every day practised in our parliament, and I think were more necessary to be practised in our assembly, except in some few extraordinary cases.

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The paper that day was voiced, and was unanimously assented unto: yet some voiced it too general and insufficient.

Tuesday, the 3d of August, was taken up with a very captious question of your good friend Sir John Scot. He had promised to Mr Mungo Law, second minister at Dysart, in the presbytery of Kirkcaldy, a presentation to the kirk of Kilrennie, in the presbytery of St Andrew's. The presbytery of St Andrew's were not very curious to crave his transportation; Sir John, in the provincial of Fife, urges it. In the voicing, not only the whole presbytery of Kirkcaldy gets voices, but some burrow two ruling elders, gets voices. Upon this, and some other informalities, Sir John appealed to the general assembly. By strong sollicitation, and by a world of merry tales in the face of the assembly, he gets a sentence for his appellation, to the great indignation of the synod of Fife, and the moderator's malecontentment. Sir John held him with that advantage, and durst not pursue his main point, anent the minister's transportation, which made many to take him but for a wrangler, who sought more the synod's disgrace than any other contentment. Overtures for planting universities, burghs, schools, were read, also a letter of the King's to the assembly, in favour of Panmure, requiring the minister of Monhey to be transported to some other church of his Majesty's presentation: the desire, with the man's own consent, was granted.

Wednesday, the 4th, Mr William Bennet was ordained, according to the act of Aberdeen, to transport to Edinburgh. Mr John Colins, after long opposition of the presbytery and parish, was ordained to be received to the church of Campsey. His presentation to the tack of Chanle of the chapter, wherein also he was obliged to ratify the patron's tack, was ordained to be rectified. Mr Andrew Logie, deposed at Aberdeen according to the provincial's appointment, was restored to his own kirk. Sir Alexander Abercrombie of Kirkenbog fashed the assembly much, that he might be obliged to receive a new presentation; that a new edict might be served; and so, that the assembly's act of reponing him to his own church should be evacuate: but his motion being found to be from particular respects, it was misregarded.

Tuesday, the 5th, Aberdeen supplicated Mr Andrew his transportation to their college. Arthur Arskine,

skine, of his own liberality, had given him 500 pound during an old man's life. The man was but twenty-four years of age, and was extreme unwilling to flit. Arthur Areskine, a well-deserving gentleman in our cause, when he began to plead, was so choked with tears, that he became silent, and removed. This accident made the assembly so compassionate towards him, that, by plurality of voices, he obtained his point. These three rebukes in end well near angered Aberdeen. By way of indignation they crave leave to have back their deposed doctors; yet they gave in the fourth bill for Mr John Oswald of Pencaitland. His misfortune was to be last, else he had better reasons of staying than any of the former three; yet to please Aberdeen, all he could say was misregarded; and he, full sore against his heart, was ordained to flit.

Here came in my long-delayed action. After much altercation betwixt the passionate parties, and some calm dispute between the Principal and me, by the favour of the moderator, I got the invidious question eschewed anent my appeal, and the state made, Transport, or Abide; when, after I had read the reasons, (which I here send you), there was not twenty voices for my transportation. I foresaw that this favour may readily transport me ere it be long to places where my life will be much more miserable than it is like it would have been in Glasgow; but yet I thought it incumbent to me, in conscience, to use all lawful means to keep me with my people. I took it to have been a sin to have neglected this duty for the preventing of crosses never so apparent. The Laird of Leckie gave in to the committee of bills a complaint of Mr Harry Guthrie's flandering of him at Aberdeen. Of this Mr Harry complained in the face of the assembly. This was like to blow up that fire again which we thought had been extinguished; yet even here God was favourable to us. That matter was referred to us the moderator's assessors. We laboured so into it some nights, that at last we got the parties agreed, both in a writ, read to the assembly, under their hands, declaring their good opinions each of other: for Leckie truly witnessed, that he knew no blame to Mr Harry, neither in doctrine nor life; and Mr Harry testified, that he never had a thought that Leckie, or any of his family, was guilty of those flanders he complained of. Of this pacification we were all most glad. Being desirous to have the assembly at an end, it was appointed

to keep her sessions twice in the day, and to dispense with the absence of so many of our parliamentary members as could not be present in the afternoon with us. The rest of that day, and much also of posterior sessions, were mispent with the altercation of that bardish man Mr D. Dogleish, and the young Constable of Dundee. He had obtained from his father to Mr David a presentation to the parsonage of Dundee. The custom was, that all of the tithes, the constable paid but to the church 500 pound, the town gave to the parson's supply 500 merks. The town having not much will of Mr David's ministry, refuses to pay the old 500 merks. Mr David refuses to transport from Coupar till the Constable secure him in a sufficient stipend. The assembly of Aberdeen ordains Mr David to transport with all diligence, and refers the question of stipend to the decision of the committee of estates. The Constable supplicates the assembly to move Mr David either to accept the charge, or give back the presentation. This Mr David peremptorily refused, intending by his presentation to erect a stipend to that place, and then readily to leave it, if all do not embrace him. Mr David's strong replies to the moderator would have been taken in worse part, if the Constable's naughtiness, in proclaiming, of the whole parsonage four or five chalders of victual was too much for him to pay to the church's use, had not offended us all. My Lord Fleming's petition, to have a new presbytery erected in Biggar, of thirteen near adjacent churches of Lanerk and Peebles, was referred to the visitation of the bounds. It was regretted by the moderator, that Mr David Catherwood, who deserved so well of our church, was so long neglected. He was recommended to the first commodious room. Likely he shall not be in haste provided. The man is sixty-six years old; his utterance is unpleasant; his carriage about the meetings of this assembly, and before, has made him less considerable to divers of his former benefactors. The case also of Mr James Fairlie, late Bishop of Argyle, was much regretted; that he having given so long ago satisfaction, that yet no place could be gotten to him to deliver him of that extremity of poverty wherewith he long has been vexed.

Friday, the 6th, a world of bills came to be referred to the parliament. Among the rest, one of Anna Inglis, complaining, that her husband, young Aiket Cunningham,
ham,

ham, having received above 40,000 merks portion with her, had deserted her, after frequent tormenting of her with strokes and hunger, he debauching all with harlots in Paisley. We sent two with this bill to the parliament to get present order. The justice of God was in this matter. The damsel's father had left her to be married to Mr Hugh Montgomery of Hazlehead, his wife's near cousin. After, his wife falls in a conceit with Allan Lockhart, and gives herself to him; and, by his persuasion, makes her daughter, when scarce twelve years of age, without proclamation, to be married to his cousin Aiket. For her reward, her husband Allan leaves her to pay 10,000 merks of his debt, which made her a poor vexed widow, and her success as you heard. We were fashed with a bill of young Saville's, a fine gentleman, who required, that one Littletower, whom the patron Lindores had thrust on his church, should be transported. The gentleman, for the well deserving of his house, was much pitied; yet, seeing the young man was admitted, and the most of the parish accepted him, it could not be helped till the young man, Littletower, found commodity to transport, which was not like to be sudden. The presbytery of Wigton complained of their molestation by one Macghee a notary, a criminous fellow, too much supported by that good man the Earl of Galloway. This bill being referred to the parliament, they enjoined the Earl to go home without delay, and fetch in that knave to suffer justice. There was no remeid; his Lordship behoved to go away to that unpleasant service. One Thomas Frazer in the tolbooth, being condemned to die for murder, supplicated us to be relaxed, before his death, from the sentence of excommunication. Some were sent to visit him. His true repentance being reported, Mr Andrew Cant was ordained, on the Sabbath, after his sermon in the great church, to relax him. On Monday he died penitent. Dr Scroggie of Aberdeen supplicated to be admitted to our covenant. The trial of his repentance was remitted to the provincial synod.

In the afternoon many overtures by Mr George Young, clerk of the references, were read. Chapperton's supplication, to enter in our covenant, was referred to the provincial of the Merse.

Saturday the 7th. When Mr David Dickson, in the question of my transportation, had declared his intention

to have as much help from me, in professing in the college, as he gave by his ministry to the town, the moderator, and others then there, not generally liking of mixing these two offices, every one whereof required a whole man, Mr David, lest any rub or mar from this should come to him in his ministry, which very profitably he did discharge, gave in a bill to have the matter cleared. It was gladly condescended, that it should be reason for him to exercise so much of the ministry there as he found himself able without detriment to his profession; the Principal not being foreacquainted with that bill, except somewhat for the preparative, wherewith Mr David was not well pleased. It was moved, that the declarations which the Earl of Traquair had alledged he had made in the assembly, but very falsely, and had obtained to be registered in the books of council, should be torn out and cancelled. This was referred to the parliament; who, after the consideration of the truth of our alledgeance, sufficiently verified by many witnesses, caused rent out of the council-books, according as we required, these full declarations. Two motions came in here, which were like to procure us much fashry; yet both, by God's help, were brought to a peaceable conclusion.

The parliament sent in to us the Earl of Lothian, one from the Barons, and one from the Burghs, requiring our judgement of the band; the tenor whereof was read. The reason why they required our declaration in that matter, was, because they said the Earl of Montrose had professed, the other night in his examination before the committee, that however that band was burnt, all the subscribers were yet by oath obliged to the matter of it; also they read a paper in our audience, written by Montrose's hand, after the burning of the band, full of vain humanities, magnifying to the skies his own courses, and debasing to hell his opposites. Here great wisdom was requisite. It was remitted first to the afternoon, and then to Monday. Sundry of the banded Lords compeared. We feared their stirring. Montrose's advocate craved to be heard. A supplication to us, written by his hand, was read, desiring our good opinion of him, offering to answer all we could lay to his charge to our full satisfaction: He said, the band was destroyed by the committee of parliament; that the paper was but a private memorandum for himself, never to have gone without his charter-chest, had not my

Lord Sinclair been pleased to make it publick; that which was alledged of his words in the committee was not any written part of his deposition; that he had only spoken of a common guiltiness of all the subscribers with him; that he had spoken of their obligation only in relation to his accusation. Balmerino, moderator of that committee, spoke very pathetically for the truth of Montrose's words. The assembly passed by what concerned Montrose, or any particular person; and, in answer to the parliament's question, a committee was appointed for that end, drew up their wise answer penned by the moderator, making that band to be unlawful, and not obligatory of any; making those that will not subscribe censurable, and passing in those who subscribe what is bygone, and well buried by the committee of parliament. The banders that were present, Kinghorn, Seaforth, Lour, did presently subscribe. Mr Blair and Pollock were sent up to Montrose to acquaint him with what was past. He spoke to them with a great deal of respect to the assembly, seemed to insinuate his willingness to subscribe what the moderator and clerk would require. Some made the motion, which the moderator much applauded, that as some from the parliament had been very happy instruments to take some differences away, which were like to arise in the assembly; so it were meet to offer to the parliament the labours of any they thought meet in the assembly, to help to remove what difference was betwixt the members of parliament. This motion was from zeal to peace, but not upon consideration of present circumstances; that the difference was not betwixt any particular men, but alledged crimes of high treason against the state, which could not be by counsels, being cited, and they standing to their defence. Yet D. Strang and Mr Andrew Cant, who were to carry our answer to the parliament's question anent the band, were burdened with the foresaid overtures; the impertinency whereof the parliament mist kent, and passed without an answer. All this passed on Monday before noon. The other motion, which on Saturday before noon perplexed us, was the moderator's petition of liberty to transport from Edinburgh. At the beginning we took it but for jest; but it proved earnest. He assured us, his voice was for no church in the town; that continually he was unhealthy there, and not so any where else; that to keep him there was to kill him; that in the act of his transportation

tation from Leuchars, there was an exprefs clause of liberty for him to transport when the publick commotions were fettled, if he found that town disagreeable with his health. The city of Edinburgh was extreme averſe; beſide the loſs of that incomparable man, thought it a dangerous preparative to have any of their miniſters transported by aſſemblies. They offered to buy him an houſe, with good air and yards; to preach only when he would; to go freely, if his health was not tolerable. They were ſo much the more averſe, becauſe St Andrew's ſued at that time in a bill for his transportation to be principal of their college. He preſſed his liberty, ſhewing his great errand out of England was troubleſome. This reaſon from the aſſembly — ſome imputed his earneſtneſs to ſome male-contentment from ſome of the wives ſpeeches the laſt year of him for their well, againſt their humour in innovating; but he affirmed health was the only ground of his petition, and if it ſhould not fail, notwithſtanding of his liberty, he ſhould not remove; and if he did, he would not go to St Andrew's, but to ſome quiet landward charge.

After noon there was a long debate for the preſbytery of Sky. Glaſgow aſſembly annexed it to the provincial of Argyle. Upon the petition of one, Edinburgh had annexed it to the provincial of Roſs. They had kept neither. Argyle pleaded for the renewing the act of Glaſgow; Seaforth for the ſealing the act of Edinburgh. After long debating of reaſons, it was referred by the commiſſioners of the aſſembly to the parliament to determine.

Monday the 9th, before noon, beſides the things already ſaid, the preſbytery of Newcastle wrote a letter of complaint, that there was a great neglect in many preſbyteries to ſupply the armies with miniſters; it was provided for; The afternoon was our laſt ſeſſion. The answers to the King's letter, to the Engliſh letters, and to Durie's letter, were read. The drawing up the directions of the Catechiſm, of the Confession, of the Form of Government, theſe were laid on Mr Alexander. His liberty was voiced, and granted, to the no ſmall miſcontent of Edinburgh. Hence thanks were given to God for his ſenſible and moſt ſpecial aſſiſtence; 23d pſalm ſung. Next aſſembly voiced at St Andrew's July 27. Commiſſioners, to the number of thirty or forty, with ſome ſixteen elders.

Those of a province might serve by turns : so, after the first meeting, I got leave to go home.

You have here an account of the assembly, so far as my weak memory, without any notes to count of, can furnish. What I shall hear of the parliament, of Montrose's process, of the King's proceedings, who came here, to our great joy, on Saturday the 14th, you shall shortly receive. What information I got from London you have here inclosed; the evil illegal writ of Sir Thomas Dishington contains a journal of that parliament for some weeks.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

Kilwinning, August 20. 1641.

Some Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament 1641.

The proceedings of our parliament, if you desire to know particularly, crave them at other hands; for the present, take these from me. A sum of the clerk's minutes, and other papers and conferences, gave me information.

On the 15th day of July, the day agreed on in our treaty at London for the sitting of our parliament, the nobility in a reasonable number, the commissioners of shires and burrows so full as ordinarily, met in the new parliament house, well prepared and hung, without riding or robes. The first action, after prayer to God, was the election of Lord Balmerino to be preses. The committee of parliament had sent long ago for some of the commissioners at court. Dumferling and Loudon, at their parting, had received letters and instructions from his Majesty. The letter was an earnest desire of some farther prorogation. The instructions had some demands, that the parliament would be content of the article in the treaty concerning the election of the officers of state, as he had expressed it; that they would accept of Traquair's submission, together with his earnest desire to be tried of these things Walter Stewart had deponed against him. His Majesty demanded also to pass from all that were cited to the parliament, unless some crimes should be proved against them; in special, that the keepers of the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton might be restored to their dignity and late estates; that no more new acts should be proponed which might derogate to his royal power, honour, or benefit; likewise they delivered all the articles of
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the treaty, that they might be taken to consideration. Here was matter enough for many days debate; yet that same day, and some following, it was resolved, that the parliament could be no longer prorogate; only, for the King's satisfaction, it was promised, till the 27th of August, they should pass no definitive sentence on any matter of weight, unless necessity constrained them, only they would agitate and prepare matters. Traquair's submission they rejected: to the demand they thought meet to suspend a particular answer till it were given to his Majesty in person, or his commissioner. As for the treaty, they gave doubles of it to every state for their trial with diligence. These things they signified to his Majesty in a letter, subscribed by some of every state, appointed for that end. When these things were voiced and concluded, Lord Loudon shewed, that the desire of prorogation had come from the English parliament; that his Majesty had given him warrant to shew his contentment for their sitting for preparing of matters, if their affairs permitted of no delay.

July 16. A committee was appointed for ordering of the house. Kinghorn, for the Constable, his pupil; Mar, for the Marischal, his nephew, not yet come; Lothian and Almond, for the noblemen; Power and Dun for the barons; Glasgow and Dundee for the burghs. Their orders were very punctual and accurate: none to be absent or late without a fine, none to be present but the members of the house. Durie and Craighall intreated, that the Lords of the Session, as those who were judges to the laws, might be present at their making, according to the old use and wont: it was flatly denied. Mr Archibald Johnston required, that some of the ministers, commissioners of the general assembly, might have place for hearing. That motion was rejected by Argyle with storm, as making way for churchmens voicing in parliament. But the greatest difficulty, the young noblemen were very male-content to be removed from those places where their birth at once called them to be judges after their fathers death; but there the barons were peremptor to have room for the assessors, if any of the noblemens sons got place. In this they were so strait, that one day they refused to voice while Angus, Montgomery, and Maitland, were removed out of the house. The young noblemen were so much the more moved, as they foresaw the barons intentions, by this preparative, to question their places of dignity, which both of late they had got; for before K. James went

to England, noblemens sons were but Masters, and their younger brethren pretended not to take place of Barons. This unexpected motion was like much to increase our divisions; which, without that occasion, were enough before. Yet, on all hazards, the members of parliament stood to their mark, resolving to have all prejudicial novations reformed. The young noblemen, lest they should have seemed to be for any other new or old fashion, sat still in their malecontentment, till the King, the fountain of their honour, should come and decide the question.

That day Areskine, Fleming, and the Master of Napier, presented supplications, in name of Montrose, Napier, and Keir, that they might have full audience in parliament. This motion spent much time in divers sessions. First, the supplications were refused till subscribed by the parties suppliant. After the subscription it was granted they should all be heard, what time the parliament thought convenient; but in the mean time they thought it reasonable to hear the information of the committee, against the causes of their imprisonment, and all their proceedings with them. Thereafter they called Montrose. When he came, he demanded what they had to say to him? It was replied, that upon his oft and earnest supplicating for a hearing, they had sent for him to give him a full audience. All he said was two or three fair generals, that they would find him innocent of all that was furnished against him. Having ended, they sent him back again to the castle, and heard read a very odious libel against him; whereupon they voiced him to be cited to answer within fifteen days. Napier and Keir spake both to the same purpose in generals, of their innocency, and confidence to answer satisfactorily to all challenges. They descended to no particular: because they thought it not expedient as yet, or because they were commanded to descend to no particular of their cause, wherein they were to be heard in time and place to the full, I do not know; but concerning their process, and their plot, so far as I am informed, you shall hear hereafter; for yet all is not discovered.

In the afternoon the incendiaries were all called. Sir Lewis Stewart compeared, desired to know what he was charged for, and offered to answer. He was referred to the parliament's best conveniency. Loudon spake for him, telling, the King had desired him to assure the parliament,

parliament, that Sir Lewis had ever given him counsel of peace. Loudon so honestly and effectually discharged himself of the King's commandment towards the parliament, divers began to misunderstand him, as if he had turned an agent for the King: yea, this most false suspicion did so far increase with some, and my Lord Dumferling's desire to be back to the court for his private affairs were so great, that Loudon had well near shuffled off a commission to return; which exceedingly had prejudged us in our common affairs; for the English dealt with none of our commissioners with that trust they dealt with Loudon: also his most ingenuous freedom ever with the King, kept him from that measure of favour which a little complacency might easily obtained. Yea, so far was that most happy and gracious instrument grieved with these ungrate misconstructions of some, that he petitioned the parliament to be discharged of his commission, to be exonerated of his negotiations bygone, if they found him faithful. This made Argyle and friends, yea all, awake. They answered, that of his faithfulness none did doubt; that to exoner him of his commission, they could not till the treaty were closed; that he behoved to return with the treaty when it was revised, as after some days he did, and he only. As for Dumferling, Argyle obtained to him some ten days after that he also should be sent up with some instructions for disbanding of the army. It was appointed that some of every estate should go to St Andrew's, and intreat the assembly should transport to Edinburgh.

Saturday 13th, Lord Weems presented a commission from his Majesty, to attend, in his place, the general assembly. He desired a warrant from the great seal: it was granted. The rest of the day was spent on the treaty, and ordering the house.

Monday 19th, orders for the house were voiced and concluded. A letter to the commissioners with Loudon, to deal with the English parliament, for sending home the incendiaries, and to complain of the compts of their shires, which were like to exhaust much of their brotherly assistance.

Tuesday 20th, the articles of the treaty were read. After noon the letters to his Majesty, and the commissioners with Loudon, were read and subscribed. Two of the state ordained to receive the bills offered to the parliament.

liament. Argyle and the Advocate petition that a warrant may be given to the justice-court, since all courts in time of parliament, without a warrant, did vaik, to sit on Mr John Stewart. It was granted, and assessors also appointed to sit with the justice-deputes in that cause. Elphinston, Ederine, Dumbarton, and Balcolumbe, for the Lords of Session.

Wednesday 21st, before and after noon were spent on the articles of the treaty, on Lord Balmerino's demand in name of the committee, to have their proceedings with those in the castle approved or disapproved.

Friday 23d, a proclamation voiced for dispensing sheriff and burrow courts to sit till the last of August. After noon it was voiced, That the articles produced by the committee, were sufficient grounds of citing the Earl of Montrose, Lord Napier, Lairds of Keir, Blackhall, and Captain Walter Stewart. The advocates which the committees had appointed for the publick, Mess. Roger, Mowat, Alexander, Pearson, James Baird, Thomas Nicolson, together with Sir Thomas Nicolson, and the King's Advocate, were ordained to draw up the summons, and every part of the libel to pursue.

Saturday 24th, Mr John Stewart was condemned to die by an old act of parliament. He supplicate the parliament for mitigation of his censure. It is true that none ever died for transgressing that act, and Balmerino being condemned for an alledged transgression, was thought to have got great wrong, and the preparative may prove very dangerous. Whereupon some of the justices were very scrupulous to pronounce sentence. Yet Mr John was striving for the life of Argyle, Hamilton, Rothes; and by consequence at the overthrow of our treaty of the peace and welfare of the whole isle. It was therefore thought necessary to make an example; so much the more, as his friends, for whose pleasure his lies were invented, were giving out, that all was but collusion betwixt him and Argyle, who undoubtedly would purchase him a free remission. These tales made Mr John be remitted to the judges, who would nor could not dispense with his execution. Blair, Cunninghamhead, Caldwell, my neighbours, gave in supplications to have their wards and marriages past to themselves gratis, seeing their fathers had died of sickness contracted in the publick service: their desires were granted. Articles of the treaty were put in
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mind, and by voices concluded, and instructions formed for the commissioner carrier thereof. Divers bills daily of particular persons were read and answered.

Tuesday 27th, the preses and clerk ordained to subscribe a warrant for two of every state to subscribe the treaty. Ordained, in the time of the assembly, the parliament should have but one session a-day. In the afternoon Montrose, Napier, and Keir were heard, as was said. Blackhall was voiced to have a chamber in the castle. The reason of his liberty was thought to be Argyle's favour, to whom, they said, he made confession of fundry of the plotters mysteries. Committees for the incendiaries and other purposes were appointed.

Wednesday 28th, committees appointed for these in the castle, for the incendiaries, for the bills, for answering our commissioners letters, anent disbanding of the army, and delay of payment of L. 80,000 Sterling. Montrose petitioned to have Mr John Gilmour, Mr John Nisbet, and Mr Lewis Stewart, appointed to plead for him. It was granted, that all advocates should be appointed to consult who were required, except those who were required to pursue; as for pleading, it was taken to farther advisement.

Thursday 29th, it was denied to Montrose to meet for consultation with Napier, Keir, and Blackhall; also it was appointed that they should answer to what interrogatories the committee pleased to propone to them, though after their citation; it was ordained, that all the members of committees who were absent, or came after the hours, should be fined in the same penalties which were ordained for absence or lateness in the parliament. Every committee had power to do all things they thought necessary for their business, providing they determined nothing, but only prepared matters to be reported in face of parliament.

Friday 30th, instructions to our commissioners at London, and the army, and payment of L. 80,000, also for a commission to them to examine witnesses at London upon the incendiaries, were twice read and voiced, and Lord Dumfermling voiced to be their carrier. Steven Boyd warranted to take up still the castle-rents for payment to Colonel Lindsay, his 200 merks a-month, and to his soldiers their pay. Colonel Lindsay was directed to admit Montrose's friends who pleased to come, have access to

him; yet in such a number at once as he might command; also that it was not needful for him to be present at the advocates consultations. The Lieutenant-General was ordained to make proclamation, that all officers and soldiers not members of parliament, should repair to the army with diligence. There was no sitting till Tuesday 3d.

Tuesday 3d, a supplication was given in by the Earl of Errol Constable, that the city of Edinburgh should be caused deliver to him Mr Thomas Lamb, for his slaughter committed in time of parliament. After some days debate, the city, protesting that no damage hereby should befall their privileges, was made to deliver the said criminal; especially since they acknowledged the slaughter to have been committed without the bounds of their jurisdiction. Fintry gave in a supplication in Montrose's name, to have a double of the depositions of Mr Robert Murray, Mr John Robertson, Napier, Keir, Blackhall, Walter Stewart, Mr John Stewart, and Cochrane, and of his own. It was voiced, that Montrose should first answer to his interrogatory, before he got these depositions. Monroe supplicate that money at last might be provided for his regiment. Justice-deputes petition for the parliament's advice, in giving out their sentence against Edward Scouler, who was convicted by an assize, albeit the probations were but presumptions. The petition, after voices, was remitted to the justices, and they ordained to proceed according to law.

Wednesday 4th, the estates ordained, that the half of every estate, in a committee, should make a quorum; also that the committee of bills should have power to subscribe summons for citation of parties and witnesses. It was proponed by the committee for the incendiaries, and agreed by the estates, that the incendiaries, if they did not, at their first coming, present themselves to the parliament, should be imprisoned by any judge-ordinary; that who concealed them, should be punished as contemners of the order of parliament; also that any member of parliament should be used as a witness, without prejudice of his voice as a judge. Cassils, Durie, and Irvine, were ordained to interrogate Riccarton. His supplication and process before the committee, and his intercepted letters, were read.

Thursday 5th, sundry supplications, anent passing of signatures, answered. Upon the presbytery of Wigton's supplication,

supplication, the Earl of Galloway was ordained to bring in within fifteen days, one Macgee, a troublesome knave. Balmerino complained, that Kier refused to answer some interrogatories of the committee: the estates ordained him to answer to all.

Tuesday 10th, Loudon's letter of the 6th of this instant from London, and the rest of the commissioners, except Rothes, who then was dangerously sick, was read, bearing the King's resolution to take journey the 10th, and to be in Edinburgh on Friday the 13th; also the sending away of all the arrears in carts, and L. 41,000 Sterling to be paid presently, the rest of the L. 80,000 to be given for the army's debts in the north counties; the finishing also of the treaty, except what concerned the trade, which behoved to be referred to a committee. Argyle, Marischal, and Almond, were ordained to meet the King, with the best horse of Merse and the three Lothians, on Gladsmure, near Haddington, on Friday. For to make all the members of parliament so fast to the church and state as was possible, and to be without danger of tentation and court-corruption, an oath, after long advisement, was agreed upon, in many things the same with the English protestation, to be taken, now and ever hereafter, by all the members of parliament, before they get leave to sit and voice: thereafter it was mended in some words, and ordained to be printed. A warrant given to Zester, Kerse, Aberdeen, with Mr Archibald Johnstone, Mr William Hay, Mr James Durham, to see the rolls and exchequer-compts since the year 1630, and to make their report before the committee for incendiaries. Likely from them a great eke will be put to Traquair's process, which before was long and odious enough. Possibly I may send you the abbreviate of it, if it were once closed.

Wednesday 11th, the commissioners of the general assembly craved, that the declarations the Earl of Traquair had caused register in the council's books, being contrary to his true declarations in the face of the general assembly, might be torn out of these registers. After trial this was granted; and, in face of parliament, they were torn out. Colonel Lindsay being sick, he got warrant to put in his place, for charge of the castle, any for whom he would be answerable. He named Steven Boyd, his predecessor, whom the committee, for his too great re-

spect for his prisoners, had shifted of that charge. President Spotswood offering himself to the parliament's trial, got a free ward in the parly castle.

Thursday 12th, it was agreed that a preses every parliament should be chosen, and continued till the election of a new one; likewise that no particular business should be handled till the general were ended. Sundry supplications were read and answered.

Friday 13th, two of every estate, viz. Argyle, Almont, James Kerse, St Andrew's, Aberdeen, together with the president and clerk, were appointed to give the King information of all that had passed in this session of parliament. A proclamation ordained, that no nobleman cited to the parliament, should claim to sit or voice before he be tried; and that no nobleman that has been out of the country, though not cited, be permitted to sit and voice before they swear the covenant, also the band to maintain the acts of parliament, and the oath in face of parliament. Noblemen, officers of state, ordained to take place according to their creation, except the Chancellor. It is declared, that the act of constitution of the parliament excludes all officers of state.

Saturday 14th, advocates for the state calls the Earl of Montrose: he offered himself to answer, and desired no continuation. The estates thought meet to delay till the 24th, to the committee for redressing insolencies of the north. Many supplications referred. Langton's bill to have Wigton discharged the office of ushery, referred to a committee. His Majesty, on Friday, dined with the General in his house at Newcastle, gave a good countenance to all he saw. On Saturday came to Edinburgh; but with a small train: yet the Palatine, Duke of Lennox, Hamilton, Lord Willoughby, were with him. On Sunday Mr Henderson, on the 11th of the Romans, and last verse, had a good sermon to him the forenoon in the Abbey church. After noon he came not; whereof being advertised by Mr Alexander, he promised not to do so again. Mr Alexander in the morning, and evening before supper, daily says prayers, reads a chapter, and sings a psalm, and says prayers again. The King hears all duly, and we hear none of his complaints for want of a liturgy, or any ceremonies. On Monday the King came not abroad.

Tuesday 17th, after Mr Andrew Ramsay's long
sermon

sermon on Romans v. "Being justified," &c. the King came in coach to the parliament-house. He spoke very graciously. The preses, and then Argyle, answered him with cordial harangues of welcome. His Majesty offered presently, without delay, to put his sceptre to the thirty-nine acts of parliament enjoined in the treaty. He was intreated, according to the order of the house, to suspend till to-morrow: at which time he pressed again that he might ratify the acts. He was intreated to delay till the return of the commissioners, who were present at the treaty: at last he was intreated so to do. The question of the ushery depending, Langton too rashly takes a rod, and puts himself in possession of the place. The King herewith offended, commands to commit him for his presumption. It was agreed on, at Argyle's motion, that when any matter of debate occurred, two of every state was appointed to acquaint his Majesty. This was done in the afternoon; for they told the King, it was hardly taken that Langton, a member of the house, should be committed without advice of parliament; and required, that it should be enacted and recorded, that neither he, nor any of his successors, should commit any member of parliament, without the parliament's advice.

Wednesday 18th, the covenant, oath, and band, were read in presence of his Majesty, and approven. The Marquis of Hamilton, the Earls of Morton, Roxburgh, Lanerk, and others, subscribed and sware before the King and parliament. Burleigh the preses required to demit his place, as was enjoined to him, in consideration of his weakness. His Majesty spoke to his commendation. He obtained an act of exoneration and approbation of all his carriage in that charge. His Majesty nominated, to be elected in parliament, for preses, Balmerino: to him went all the voices.

Thursday 19th, the Duke of Lennox, Earl of Anandale, and Dumfries, sware the covenant, band, and oath, and so took their places. The commissioners letter at London, for disbanding the army the 20th of this instant, was read. After some motion of the King, that they should march on a bridge of boats, overturned, it was concluded, with his Majesty's consent, they should come alongst Berwick bridge. No parliament-man was permitted to go to the army but the Lieutenant-General; that the session should be from nine to twelve; that the
committee

committee should sit from three to six, with power to call any member of parliament before them or other, and to remove them also; likewise, that any member of parliament should be permitted to sit in their own place, in any committee. The procurator for the church was ordained to present for the church what he thought fit. Sir John Hay supplicate, he might be permitted, for his health, to keep his house for some days. Dr Arnot and Maclure are appointed to visit him, and to report on their oath.

Friday 20th, his Majesty presented a manifesto, emitted by him in favours of the Palatine, there recommended by the parliament of England to the parliament of Scotland. It was read, and taken to consideration. The petition of the noblemens eldest sons, to sit and hear in parliament, with the overtures from the general assembly for universities, churches, and schools, were likewise taken to advisement; also overtures anent the commissariots.

Saturday 21st, Montrose's petition to have his cause discussed, was referred to his committee. After many deliberations, since he refused to subscribe the submission, which the King saw, and did not disallow, the cognition of his cause was cast by till the parliament had dispatched their more weighty affairs. Some of every estate were appointed to meet in the Duke of Lennox's chamber, for the Palatine's affair. They drew up a hearty consent to the King's desire, which the parliament did enact, their readiness to assist his Majesty in a parliamentary way, to regain the Palatinate whenever he required. The controversy betwixt the Marischal and Constable, also betwixt the Marischal and macers, were referred to committees.

Tuesday 24th, Lord Loudon asked instruments of his production, in face of parliament, of an exemplification of an act of the English parliament, wherein they ratified the treaty; also an exemplification of another act, for securing by publick of L. 221,000 Sterling, the remainder of the brotherly assistance; both which acts were under the great seal of England. Also that he produced the copy of the treaty, which at his last going to England was delivered to him by the parliament of Scotland. The estates are appointed to meet by themselves at two o'clock, and also together at three. In the afternoon they agreed upon, and subscribed the instructions to the General for paying the army. Wednesday, August 25th.

31. To Mr William Spang.

Cousin,

As in my last I promised, have now what comes to my mind of the course of our publick affairs since the 25th of August, where my journal of our parliament ended. The time now is so long, and my memory so weak, that the course of weeks, let be days, I cannot follow; but of the matters of greatest moment have a part, as I can remember.

Before I came from London his Majesty's journey for Scotland was; resolved upon what grounds, it is but only conjectured. Rothes is become a great courtier. The Queen began to speak honourably and affectionately of our nation, and, in sound earnest, to think of convoying the King to Scotland. It was thought the hearty agreeance, and fully satisfying our needlessly-irritated land, would be a sovereign help of the continual harsh rencounters of the English parliament. Besides, as it appeared afterward, about the time Walter Stewart's informations had come to the King, giving probable assurances for convincing Hamilton and Argyle of capital crimes, if the countenance of a present King might favour the accusers, our commissioners of the best note, and the leaders of the English parliament, by all means laboured to make the King's journey difficult. Few believed it possible; notwithstanding he was peremptor, and did go. The first thing his Majesty essayed in our parliament was, to touch without all delay with the sceptre the thirty-nine acts of the former session. To the most the motion was very plausible. It was given out to be an act of forward zeal to perform what was promised in the treaty: only some two or three espied the danger of this action; who incontinent drew up first a short note, then a large paper, demonstrating the great prejudice that the treaty of peace, and the liberty of the land, would receive, by such an unreasonable and undesired ratification. These informed so well the parliament, that the King's offer was first shifted for a time, and then clean laid by as prejudicial; and, after much debate, the form of publishing both these acts, and of the whole treaty, which you saw in print, was agreed upon, for a safe proceeding in all things. Before the
King's

King's coming, there were fundry cautions enacted, whereof I wrote to you before, excellent orders for the house, which yet are not come to my hands, whereby the officers of state for the most part, all the Lords of Session, all not members of parliament, were excluded. Earls sons took this in very evil part; seeing the Barons, by that beginning, intended to stop them of that honour, which lately, by the King's favour, had been bestowed on them, and to reduce them to the old state of mere Masters: yet they resolved patience; for the leading young nobles were, Angus, Montgomery, Maitland; who, for fear of increasing division, were content to swallow down that grudge. It was much feared that the burrows should fall foul with the Barons, who claimed every one a full voice; whileas, in K. James's days, the two commissioners of a shire had been in possession of one only suffrage: yet this difference was quietly carried, for love of peace, in so dangerous a time. Sundry papers also were scattered, for holding the members of parliament right, and ordering of affairs before the King's coming; but the tough dispute betwixt the King and parliament was about the election of the officers of the state, of the Council, and Session. Upon this point much dispute had been in the treaty at London. We alledged it was our law, and old custom, to have all these elected by advice of parliament; that the election of these by the King alone had been the fountain of our evils, and was like to be a constant root of corruption, both in kirk and state, if not seen to. His Majesty took the nomination of these to be a special part of his prerogative, a great finew of his government, the long possession of Kings in Scotland, the unquestionable right of the Kings in England. Much dispute in private was about this great matter. The equity of our estates demands you may see; yea, these good hands which were always ready to cast in writ reasons for all that we craved, caused disperse also other two papers; one, for the precedency of noblemen, according to their creation, to statesmen; another, for exclusion of all statesmen from voice in parliament, except the Chancellor. When these things with great difficulty were obtained, there fell in, for the nomination of the persons to their places vaiking, questions inextricable. For the Council and Session there was not much dispute; neither for the continuance of Roxburgh in the Privy Seal, or the Advocate, Treasurer-depute, or Justice-Clerk: but the

the question was for the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and Register. The King made no question to satisfy that desire, which was universal, about Loudon's advancement; it was resolved he should be Treasurer. But when his Majesty found it more easy to find abilities for the treasury than the chancery, he changed, and declared Loudon Chancellor, against both his own mind and his friends. The objected difficulty, of the smallness of that office, which was presently helped by the addition of a pension of L. 1000 Sterling. For the other two offices arose unhappy debates. For their quiet settling, it was propounded, and long pressed, that the very nomination should be by the advice of the states. When little here could be got obtained, it was urged, that the states, in their advice, for eschewing personal offences, might voice by schedules: but this was counted a novelty, and rejected. Factions began here evidently to appear. The most and best part of the estate were content to have Argyle Treasurer; but others esteeming that an unprofitable greatness, did make the King peremptor in refusing that motion. Upon this rock there was a long sticking. The King nominated one day, in face of parliament, the Earl of Morton; while Argyle topes this nomination, as of a man unmeet, because of irresponsibleness to the law for his debts. There fell a very foul flyting betwixt the two; the end was, that Morton was passed by. So much the less liking had the estates to him, in regard of some contumelious words spoken by him some days before upon their president, Balmerino, who took them in evil part, and refused to proceed till Morton was forced to give him publick satisfaction. The next on whom his Majesty pitched was Almond. This motion was also rejected. Argyle has been before always to that man a most special friend; but he said, he behoved to prefer the publick good to private friendship, and so avowedly opposed that motion; as indeed it was thought Almond, in that place, might have been as good a head and leader to his old friends the banders and malecontents as any other of our nation. Upon these jars whole months were mispent. It was generally thought, that from these divisions the last plots which brake out did either arise originally, or were resumed; for when a while they had slept, and were laid aside before his Majesty's coming, all that was alledged, about Montrose's intentions to accuse Hamilton and Argyle in face of parliament, was made

grossly odious; and by the beheading of Mr John Stewart, the confessed calumniator, the progress of these designs were choked. Behold, at this time, these same, or the like counsels, are taken up again. My Lord Ker, in God's mercy, makes vent to them in his drunkenness before their maturity. That very insolent youth, without all provocation, one day, after too much drink, will but cartell the Marquis of Hamilton as a juggler with the King, and a traitor both to him and to his country. This message he sends to the Marquis with his no less furious and drunken second the Earl of Crawford. The Marquis received the challenge in the chamber of presence; but finding Crawford in drink, he answers modestly, that if tomorrow he would return, he would give him an answer. This filled the whole parliament with high indignation, that a member of theirs, of the Marquis's quality, should be so abused, at his Majesty's elbow, by drunken fools, while in face of parliament. A complaint is made of it to the King. The Marquis, on his knee, did supplicate the King for Ker; to whose father he professed his manifold obligations. He excused Crawford, as if he could do no less than deliver his comrade's message; but withal the wise man made use of the injury, and humbly required his Majesty's and the parliament's declaration of their judgements in the matter itself. By this means he obtains, by way of act of parliament, both from the King and state unanimously, a declaration of his most loyal and faithful service to that day; and my Lord is commanded to crave him pardon in these words, prescribed, and registered in the records of parliament for Ker's perpetual infamy.

Sundry wise men even then began to smell some worse thing; for at once there broke out a noise of the most wicked and horrible plots that has been heard of, that put us all for some days in a mighty fear. It was noised every where, that upon Captain Walter Stewart's relation, that Hamilton, Argyle, and Lanerk, only for company, should have been called for out of their beds, that same night it was revealed by Almond, as it were to the King's bed-chamber; when they should have come, they were to have been arrested as traitors, and to have been delivered to the Earl of Crawford, waiting on with armed soldiers at the foot of the Blackfriars in the garden, by them to be cast in a close coach, and carried to the shore; for there was a boat attending for their convoy to one of the King's ships,

ships, which for some weeks had been in the road, for no other purpose that was known, but that that should have been the prison out of the which they were to be brought before the parliament to answer challenges of the highest treason; but in their arresting, if they should have made any resistance, Crawford and his soldiers were ready to have stabbed them. Cochran was said to have given assurance for bringing his regiment from Musselburgh to command the causey of Edinburgh; and that night, with the assistance of many friends in the town, to have made fast, or killed, if need had been, so many of the parliament-men as were suspected might have been heady for the prisoners relief. Ways were made to deliver the castle to Montrose and his fellow-prisoners. The Kers, Humes, Johnstons, and the most of the borders, were said to have been in readiness, and under warning, to march towards Edinburgh; the soldiers of Berwick also, who yet were not disbanded. These horrible designs breaking out, all the city was in a flight. Hamilton, Argyle, Lanerk, took a short good-night with the King, and fled to Kinross. The citizens kept a strong guard that night. Many of the well-affected noblemen caused watch their houses. To-morrow the King came up in a coach to the parliament, and near 500 soldiers, and the worst affected men about him, with their arms in a menacing way. They broke in near hand to the parliament's outer hall. The states were mightily offended, and would not be pacified till Lesly had got a commission, very absolute, to guard the parliament, with all the bands of the city, and regiments yet on foot, and some troops of horse, which, according to his printed warrant, he did quickly and diligently. Crawford, Cochran, and others, were made fast. Great ado there was for their trial. The King complained much of the vile slander which Hamilton's needless flight and fear had brought upon him. He professed to detest all such base treacheries as were spoken of; urged a present trial, in face of parliament, for the more clearing of his innocency. Yet this way was rejected as very unmeet; but a committee was appointed for a more accurate trial in private than could have been in publick. Many evil-favoured things were found; yet in the papers that went abroad we found nothing that touched the King, neither much which did reflect on the Duke, Almond, or William Murray. The parliament in England fell in great

fears at the same time of some mischievous plots for the lives of their prime men: but so soon as our stories came to their ears, they set the trained bands about the doors to be their guard, and sent down instructions to their commissioners to make known their deep resenting of our affairs. Lord William Howard, and some four of the lower house, had been attending all this while in Edinburgh, for keeping good correspondence betwixt the nations and parliaments; the King had refused to set his seal to their commission; wherefore the English parliament took offence at the Duke of Lennox and William Murray, who were thought at that time to guide all the court much at their pleasure. In the mean time, Hamilton, Argyle, and his nephew, Gordon, lay quietly at Hamilton, without any convocation of friends. The King vented much malecontentment against Hamilton; and if the late declaration had not secured him, was near to have intended a citation of him to answer for points of treason: yet for his clearing, this paper was sent among the hands of the states; and after some two or three weeks absence, upon the King and parliament's letters, they all returned, and at once seemed to have as great confidence in the King as ever. Sure their late danger was the mean to increase their favour with the parliament; so whatever ruling they had before, it was then multiplied. The Marquis did not much meddle; but the leading men of the Barons and Burghs did daily consult with Argyle. He had been very forward for accommodating the business both of the incendiaries and plotters with Montrose, and these who were cited to the parliament. He had, the day he fled, brought all things very near to that point the King desired. At his return, he began where he left. The great knot was, the oath which he had invented, obliged the parliament, in direct terms, to an accurate trial of all incendiaries and plotters. To elude this oath, the accommodators used many distinctions. About it Mr Henderson and Mr Blair had been in contrair terms, in our meeting, who were commissioners for the church. Mr Henderson spake for the passing of the trial; I contradicted him at some length. Mr Archibald Johnston was very infirm, and dangerously sick for the time; yet I moved him to draw up that paper, as he did many more; for all that we were troubled with the question. Sundry of the parliament would have the envy of refusing the King's demand to fall
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on the church; but by an overture cast in by our good friend Mr George Young, we got the thorn put in the right foot; for they had stated, by good Southesk's advice, a very captious question to us, Whether, in conscience, the trial of the incendiaries or plotters might by the parliament be dispensed with, if so they conceived the passing of that trial was the mean of the country's peace, &c.? We required, before we could give an answer, our interrogators declaration, Whether they in conscience thought, that the passing of that trial was a sure mean of peace, without which it could not be had? Upon this, without farther troubling us, the states resolved, as you have it in the printed act, for taking the trial, for their oath's sake, but remitting the sentence to the King. A little before the King was like to be very peremptor; for he menaced to raise or leave the parliament in confusion, if they would not yield to his demand of a publick trial of that plot was alledged against Hamilton and the rest: but herein he had a hard enough rencounter; for a very strange declaration was drawn up, and had passed the committees of Barons and Burrows, which so moved his Majesty and his cabin-council, that, without farther delay, they yielded to the trial of a private committee, whereat the King should not be present, and all the members should be sworn secrecy till the trial were ended.

All this while the common affairs were interrupted, as you may mark in the dates of the acts of parliament. We had obtained some trifling acts for the church; but that which we most intended very hardly could be obtained, our commission for settling the churches and schools. We had here few or no real friends. The Advocate, with his idle curiosity, put us to infinite difficulties. When we had got him somewhat satisfied, then fundry of all the estates carped for their own interest at every other clause of it. All that we could obtain was that form you see in print, and such men on it as we have but small confidence in, as since it has proven; for when we expected, that church-business should have been taken in the first place, upon pretence of the publick affairs, all that concerned us was referred to June's slow session; yea, the churches of the west will not come in these two years yet to come. This I took for a great oversight in some from whom I expected, in wisdom towards their own standing, more favour towards the church. We were at that time preach-
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ing some of us very zealously against both the old and new plotters; for which we got thanks. One sermon I had in the parliament-house which was well liked. Good Mr Henderson all this while was very silent, and under misconstruction with the chief of his old friends, as if he had been too sparing of his Majesty in these dangerous occasions, and that in his sermons some sentences did fall from him prejudicial to the states proceedings. But surely that man is most gracious. He was a good instrument, after much difficulty, to obtain to the university of Edinburgh both the bishoprick and priory. Glasgow was pitifully crossed by the Duke, who must needs have the temporality of that bishoprick; the spirituality fell to the town-ministry, which is but a small thing. But, to content Glasgow, the bishoprick of Galloway was given to the college, deducing a stipend to its cathedral, and what will fall to the augmentation of ministers. Aberdeen university got the bishoprick thereof. Edinburgh had got the gift of their own, and of Orkney; but they found that both were all spoiled with priory-gifts; so they took themselves to be near disappointed. Richard Maxwell, to engage his hammermen to the King, got to them Magdalen chapel, the most of Dunkeld, the deanry of the chapel; some 4000 merks a-year fell to Mr Henderson; Argyle, Isles, I suspect to Argyle. Ross, Murray, and Caithness, are divided to northland gentlemen and ministers who are but of very small deserving. The bishopricks were so quickly, and so much against our minds, dilapidated, that we were near to have made a protestation in parliament in the church's name. The fear of this protestation made our universities to come the better speed.

The questions about the offices of state did here again waken. Most ado was for the Register. Hamilton was bent to have it for Orbiston; but Durie, by William Murray, got the King and the Duke to be passionately for him. The body of the well-affected states thought that place the just reward of Mr Johnston's great and very happy labours. Many papers ran against Durie; notwithstanding, by Argyle's means most, whereof many wondered, Durie got the prize; and Mr Archibald was made content with knighthood, and a place in the session, and L. 200 pension. For the treasury, seeing it could not be got for Argyle, it was agreed to keep it vacant till the King might be got drawn; and, in the mean time, after the English fashion,

fashion, to serve it by a commission of five, two of Hamilton's friends, Glencairn and Lindsey, the Chancellor, and Argyle himself, with the Treasurer-depute.

At this time it was when the Irish rebellion broke out. At our first hearing, our estates offered to the King and the English parliament, to send over in haste 10,000 well-armed men. If present use had been made of that offer, many a life of our friends had been saved; but many miserable impediments have hindered that to this day. There are not over of our men above 5000, who yet does among the rebels what they will. This rebellion made both the King and us to haste all affairs; so in some eight days as great and precipitate haste was used, as in three months before there had been needless protraction. A committee was appointed the 4th and 5th of November, which in two or three nights did agree all things privately with the King, most according to Argyle's mind; whereupon the number of malecontents in all estates grew against him; but without any just cause: so our parliament ended, after so long sitting, somewhat abruptly. The King behoved to be gone: yet he made no such speed as was expected; for at York he staid some days, and was long ere he came to the parliament; which presently filled the mouths of all, that the Irish rebellion, and new plots in England against the parliament, were invented by the Queen, and not against the King's mind: but in many declarations his Majesty has since put all suspicion out of every equitable mind: however, too many to this day will not take satisfaction.

There was a committee of our estates appointed to attend the parliament of England, not so much for the perfecting of our treaty, as to keep good correspondence in so needful a time. None of the former commissioners were employed, but Sir Archibald Johnston, and Sir John Smith; for the most of all the rest were fallen in the country's dislike, complying too much with the King. Certainly Dumfermling, Waughton, Sheriff of Teviotdale, Riccarton, Clerk of Dundee, tint all credit with the states. Our new commissioners obtained warrant of parliament to chuse for their service what ministers they thought meet. They agreed on Mr Harrie Pollock, and Mr Borthwick. It was thought the King was evil furnished of preachers; for his stay was long. Mr Henderson, on whom it lay to provide for two every Sabbath, and one upon the Tuesday, could not get men according

according to his mind. The commissioners of the assembly behoved to make some of their number to pray daily in the parliament, at the entry and in the end of the action. These who were most able, declined both preaching and prayer, and those who were least able, were soonest intreated. In the end of the parliament, the Advocate's idleness put the King on an humour of protesting of saving his right. This dangerous novelty, of casting all loose, his Majesty at last was moved to give over, most by Morton's persuasion. The author, for this, and other his needless offices, obtained to his son Sir Thomas, not only a place in the session, but also, to the indignation of the nobility, a patent to be general justiciary, at least for one year. Poor Mr Elphinston, who had it before, was cast by without any challenge, as a man contemned by all. The King made all the haste he could, and strove to give contentment to all. Many more pensions given than ever will be paid. Sundry Earls and Lords, but a world of Knights were created. Among many refers from our general assembly to the parliament, there was one very good, for ordering of the levies of our countrymen who went abroad to serve Popish princes. It had been a pity but the parliament had taken some notice of it.

Also the parliament was in a fair way, before the breaking out of our wicked plots, to have put over sea, to Germany, 10,000 brave and well-armed soldiers for the Palatine, and for the advancement of that service. This letter was drawn up by Robin Meldrum, (who is yet a man altogether, but very unjustly and imprudently, neglected by our state), and sent away by the King to the Queen of Sweden: but mischant instruments, as these twenty years bygone, so to this day, misleads so the court, that nothing can be got done for that poor prince. Never such order in any parliament among us. The whole states met daily in the forenoon, and sometimes in the afternoon also. Oft the several states had their afternoon, and ever the committees, which were many, for facilitating of all businesses of importance. No act past till it were first read to the whole states, and doubles of it given to every state for advisement, at least for one day, except in the last two or three days, where many acts could not, it seems, for haste have that leisurely consideration.

32. *To Mr William Spang. Glasgow, February 18.*

Cousin,

You had long ago from me, an account of our parliament; what has fallen out since in England and Ireland, you know it as well as I. The world sees the passages daily in print, and it is like many hands will be careful to give account to posterity, of so many notable pieces of state as have fallen out this year in our dominions. The misintelligence of the King with his parliament continues to this day. When they had found the accusation, and had assayed to arrest by force in the middle of the House of Commons, five of their well-deserving members to the King's long stay in his way from Scotland, and extraordinary caressing of the city of London, they became more jealous than ever, that their old enemies were on some new ways to make all their labours fruitless. Their great fears forced them to these guards which occasioned the King in malecontentment to go from Whitehall, and the Queen to leave the kingdom. Mutual misunderstanding has ever since increased pitifully; the putting of Sir William Balfour from the tower of London; my Lord Digby's appearing in arms about Kingston, his flight to Holland, and idle letters to the King and Queen; my Lord Newcastle's attempt on Hull, before Sir John Hotham's coming there; Sir John's refusing to let the King enter; his Majesty besieging of that place; my Lord Warwick's using of the navy against the King's mind; the great desertion of the parliament, by noblemen and others; that thrice traitor Goring's delivery of Portsmouth to the King, has now well near betrayed Ireland to the will of the barbarous rebels, has put England in the posture of a most dangerous war, the event whereof, what it may be, we tremble to think. The best-affected of our council, before these evils went so high, thought meet to send up our Chancellor to see what his counsel might effectuate betwixt King and parliament. His Majesty, at that time, misliked the way of intercession, and caused the Chancellor to return, requiring our council withal to read and consider all that had passed betwixt him and the parliament, that finding how much he was injured by them in his just and legal prerogative,

our council might, in name of our kingdom, declare the sense of these wrongs to the parliament by what commissioners they pleased. To this council-day were invited, by his Majesty's letters, all the noblemen and other counsellors who were affected his way. The parliament, to prevent inconveniencies, moved our commissioners to send down Sir Archibald Johnston, with a declaration from them of their proceedings; trusting thereby to demonstrate, that all their ways with his Majesty should appear necessary and just. Upon that meeting of our council there were many eyes. The banders flocked to the town with so great backing, the Chancellor and Argyle's company was so small, that there was a great rumour raised of a wicked design against Argyle's person: but incontinent the gentry and ministry of Fife running over in thousands, and the Lothians with the town of Edinburgh cleaving to Argyle above expectation, the banders courage and companies of foot and horse melted away as snow in a hot sunshine. A paper of Sir Archibald Johnston's, as a letter to a friend, gave good satisfaction to the minds of men. The petition of those who met was so resolute, full, and well conceived. My Lord Montgomery's petition was so evil taken, that the council, however at the beginning for the far most part so resolute to have concluded a boasting mediation to the terrifying of the parliament, yet in end was glad to lay down all such motions. Since the King was not able to carry his intentions, his pleasure was we should desist for a time to essay any accommodation. When the Marquis of Hamilton had left, first the parliament, and then the King, we thought he had come to us with some instructions from the one or both; but it seems he had nothing from either, but, to eschew drowning, had chosen to leave both for a time, since both could not be kept, and to both his obligations were exceeding great.

It were a great pity that our armies were so unhappily employed, when there is so fair an occasion offered to set our friends abroad on their feet, and to put our enemies once for all over the brae, never more to arise to their terrible former greatness. —

At this time I will only give you an account of our late assembly at St Andrew's. On our way we heard of sundry rumours of the banders intention to essay their numbers, to extort from the assembly an exposition of our covenant,

covenant, favourable for an expedition to England, for vindication of the King's honour, which was alledged to be unjustly trampled upon by the parliament. However, we found no footsteps, when we came to the place, of any such plot; yet to prevent it, many of our best noblemen thought meet to countenance the assembly: not only all the noblemen of Fife, Weems, Burleigh, Sinclair, Elcho, Balcarras; but Argyle also brought over with him, Eglington, Cassils, Glencairn, Lauderdale, Gordon, Maitland, and others, who all were elders, and voiced. The parliament of England also thought meet to send to us, by our commissioners, a declaration of their earnest desire to have their church reformed according to the word of God, and a copy of their petition to the King for peace. Lest the carrier hereof, Mr Robert Barclay, should have been so long detained by the King, whom he was directed to visit by the way, another copy was sent to us, which came with Mr Borthwick's man, on the fourth morning, from London. We thought ourselves much honoured by the respectful letters both of the King and parliament to us. It seems it concerned both to have our good opinion.

On Monday, the 26th of July, we came over the water; not without danger and fear. Tuesday the 27th, we came to St Andrew's. We found there, in the people, much profanity and ignorance, swearing, drunkenness, and the faults of the worst burghs, with extraordinary dearth. On Wednesday the 28th was a fast. Mr Henderson preached graciously and wisely, on 2 Cor. vi. 1. 2. 3. taxed freely the vices of ministers, among other the humour of novation. In the afternoon, Mr Blair had a sermon on Isaiah lii. 7. 8. 9. He had preached thrice that week for Mr Rutherford, and was unwell: it seems he expected Mr Andrew Ramsay to have preached that diet, being the antecedent moderator; but he was absent, not being a commissioner. After both sermons, we entered the Old college hall with great trouble. Dumfermling took the chair of state for the King. He was in his way for France; for hither his mind carried him, against the heart of all his friends; but having this favourable commission put on him, by all mens expectation, he came with a number of his noble friends; his nephew, the Master of Zester, carried the commission in a purse before him. After prayer, the moderator lected Mr Ro-

bert Douglas, Mr James Bonner, Mr Andrew Cant, Mr Robert Blair. Caffils, for keeping of the assembly's liberty, caused add Mr Robert Ramfay. Mr James Bonner got some voices; the rest almost none: but unanimously Mr Robert Douglas was chosen. Before the election, the commissions were given in, the names were read, and booked. Want of charges made many presbyteries send but one minister. The commission was referred to consideration, because of a clause of the chancery, of not transferring the synod without his Grace's advice. The King's letter was read: it was very gracious; yet had a discharge express enough to meddle with any thing concerned us not. The Commissioner craved liberty of assessors: (he spoke little and low). It was refused, except for private consultation. The King had written to the Marquis of Hamilton, Argyle, the Chancellor, Morton, and Southesk, to attend, and assist him. Argyle read his letter; but professed his presence there alone, in quality of a ruling elder from the presbytery of Inverary. Southesk sat at his foot-stool, and oft whispered his unfavoury advice. None of the other appeared. The commission from Campvere was welcomed.

Thursday, July 29th, I was sent for by the moderator in the morning to Mr Blair's chamber. There the moderator had appointed his private meetings with his assessors, for regulating of difficult affairs. The members were secretly advertised; for none were allowed publicly; Messrs Henderson, Cant, Dickson, Blair, Fleming, Argyle, Caffils, Lauderdale, Sir Archibald Johnston, Mr George Winton, and John Binnie. We resolved there upon the committees. We were feared for a storm about novations. The ablest men of the kingdom were present. I advised to name the committee for regulating of Shetland and Orkney first, and put upon it these men from whom they expected more faithrie, such as Mr Harrie Guthrie, Mr David Dogliesh, and fundry moe. The committee for bills and reports I got too ordered, that Mr James Bonner became moderator for the one, and Mr Robert Ramfay for the other, with Mr George Young his clerk, who made all the reports in face of the synod, as he had done twice before; only some of my friends were neglected through my forgetfulness, who therefore were like to have created us trouble, had I not gotten some employment to them thereafter. The clerk had
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drawn up a number of matter for the synod, which then we examined. No sermon that day, for Mr R. Ramsay nominate by the moderator but yesternight, had refused. In the assembly the committee for bills, reports, and Shetland, were appointed, as we resolved. The commissioners for visiting the universities of St Andrew's and Glasgow were renewed. I admired the industry of Argyle. All the diets of our synod he kept, and did give most and best advice in every purpose that came by hand. Our privy committee, before or after the assembly, he never missed; the committee for visitation of the universities, had punctually attended, and yet never complained of weariness. We put Eglinton on the committee of bills, and Glencairn on the reports, where he became a little more busy than was well taken. Because of the ignorance of acts of the general assemblies, the clerk was desired to draw together in one body the general acts of the old assemblies, to be ready for the press, and to print, without delay, the acts of the last five assemblies. Mr George Haliburton was somewhat tedious in his speeches anent the plantation of Dundee. His son was presented by the Viscount of Didup, yet at the town's desire, the young man did pass from his presentation. Mr D. Dogleish spoke much and well, but so boldly and oft that he was little regarded. Mr George Gillespie's cause came in. His patrons Weems and Elcho spoke much for his retention: himself also was very earnest to stay. Many marvelled of the difficulty was made, since long before, as was alledged, the city of Edinburgh had agreed with Mr George for his transportation with his patrons consent. The King's letter was read again, and overtures for Papists and presentations were referred to the moderator. The committees were appointed in the afternoon. At our meeting, it was laid on Mr Henderson to answer the King and parliament's letters. The overture anent Papists was committed to me; which I drew, as it was thereafter approven in the assembly, without alteration. We spake much of patronages. The overtures whereupon the commissioners of parliament had agreed on with the King, I shewed was of no use to us; for it was hard for us to find one person to a vacant kirk; but to send up six to the King, where-ever he was, to present any one, whereof we would assure should be accepted by all who had

had interest, it was not possible. Argyle made a fair offer for himself, and all the noblemen present, hoping to persuade other noblemen and gentlemen to do the like, that they would give free liberty to presbyteries and people to name whom they would to vacant places, upon condition the assembly would oblige intrants to rest content with modified stipends. I reasoned against this condition, not for stipends already modified, but where benefices were yet entire; for there it was hard for us to dilapidate these few relicks with our own hand. Lauderdale was much against popular elections. So we resolved to have nothing spoken at all of patronages.

Friday, 30th, the provincial assembly-books were produced by the commissioners where the clerk resided. A very well-penned letter by fundry noblemen and gentlemen were read for help of ministers in Ireland. After much private debate, Mr D. Dickson having peremptorily refused, it was laid by the voices of the assembly on Mr Blair and Mr James Hamilton to go to Ireland for the first four months; on Mr Robert Ramsay and Mr James Maclelland for four months following; on Mr John Livingston and me for the next four. It came so suddenly on me, that all my opposition was in vain; and it was the assembly's care, to beware lest all the men that went over to that land should be in danger, in the first settling of that church, to favour any differences from our church. There was much debate for reading of the parliament of England's letters. The Commissioner was passionate, that no answer might be given to them till the King's licence might be obtained for that end. When his weeping could not obtain this, Southesk suggested the delay of answer only for twenty-four hours. This also was refused; for however the answer was not ready for some days thereafter, yet we esteemed it a dangerous preparative, to be hindered to answer when we found meet, the motion made to us by less considerable parties than the parliament of England. Mr Robert Brown having satisfied the presbytery of Penpont for his long delay to come to the covenant, upon his humble petition was received an expectant. After noon, in our committee, the book of the commissioners of the last general assembly was revised, and approved by us. Mr Henderson made a long and passionate apology for his actions, That the nomination of William Murray

ray to be agent for the kirk till the next assembly, was by the commissioners, and not by him; that the man had done many good offices, and none evil, to the church; that he had refused to serve any longer in that place; that what himself had got from the King, for his attendance in a painful charge, was no pension; that he had touched as yet none of it; that he was vexed with injurious calumnies. After the venting of his stomach, to all our much compassion, the gracious man was eased in his mind, and more chearful. It is true, some expressions in his sermons before the King, and his familiarity with William Murray, who was thought to be deep in all the plots, made him somewhat less haunted by our nobility than before; and Mr David Catherwood, and Mr Andrew Kirkhall, their censure of the ministry of Edinburgh in the late provincial of Lothian, for not applying their doctrine to the evil of the times; also his dissuading of his acquaintance, at Mr William Scot's burial, to come over to the council-day, and his small countenancing of the ministers petition to the council, occasioned many unpleasant whispers against him; but certainly the man's great honesty, and unparalleled abilities to serve this church and kingdom, did ever remain untainted.

Mr R. Blair and Mr S. Rutherford moved us to assist them for an act of transportability. There was a great heartburning for the time in the town. Mr Andrew Affleck of Largo had been nominate by Mr A. to be his colleague in St Andrew's. The whole town did much affect him. Mr Robert and Mr Samuel had given once way to his transportation hither; yet when Mr James Bruce, Mr Arthur Morton, and Mr George Hamilton, had carried the plurality in the presbytery, for his keeping at Largo, his doctrine not being so spiritual and powerful as the case of St Andrew's required, Mr Robert plainly avowed his dissent from his transportation; whereupon almost the whole town did storm, and refused to regard any of Mr Robert and Mr Samuel's desires. This made both urge at least a transportability. I helped Mr Samuel to obtain it; but to my great repentance, if he makes any use, as he is too much inclined, of that his liberty. Mr Robert got some more contentment by the transporting of Mr Andrew Honniman to be his colleague. Mr Andrew Affleck also was taken to Dundee, for the ending of that tough plea betwixt the town and the Constable.

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All this while my Lord Eglinton was seeing what he might get done for my retaining. He was assured by all, that the assembly would transport me; and, for this effect, Edinburgh had sent a warrant to their commissioners, which I knew not for the time. His Lordship, therefore, resolved to speak nothing of his appeal; only he required the favour of an act to transport in the synod of Glasgow any he could find without a burgh and nobleman's residence. This was granted; and so his Lordship went away, being much afflicted with the death of his noble son Sir Alexander, the Colonel.

The fourth session was on Saturday, July 31. A letter from a number of English ministers at London was read, shewing their desire of Presbyterian government, and a full union with our church. The question of Mr John Bruce's admission came in. The patron, presbytery, and provincial synod, urged his receiving. William Rig, and the people, vehemently opposed it, because of his great insufficiency, and neglect of some part of his trial; he was decerned to be admitted. Mr And. Stewart's was agitate. The provincial of Galloway had made an act, to put all transported ministers in their bounds unto all the trials required of expectants. This by all was thought to be absurd; yet the clerk fell on an overture concluded in the last assembly, giving liberty to presbyteries to put ministers to some trial. The exposition of this act was committed to some who made a commodious interpretation thereof. Sundry bills, and reports of particular affairs, were discussed.

On Sunday Mr David Dick preached, most on the afflictions of ministers, for the comfort of Mr Blair as I took it; but was not thought pertinent by the most. After noon, Mr And. Cant preached zealously on, "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up."

Session fifth, Monday, August 2. The principal of the English parliament's declaration to us, with their petition for peace to the King, being presented by Mr Robert Barclay, was read. The King's very sharp answer, presented by his Grace, was read. After it, we had some debate in our committee about the publick reading of the King's answer; yet all consented it should be read. The assembly resolved to supplicate the King, and to deal with the parliament, for peace. The pieces were drawn up by Mr Henderson, and committed to my Lord Maitland to deliver;

ver; which produced that gracious return from the parliament which ye see in print. A number of bills and reports were dispatched. Mr John Guthrie, though he had satisfied for his late subscription of the covenant, and was earnestly supplicate by the whole provincial of Murray, yet the patron Duff's dissenting, could not be replanted in his old church. The assembly presented Mr George Halyburton to the church of Bonimoon. The presbytery of Brechin alledged their right. It is resolved, that the rights of presbyteries and synods must cease, and dissolve in the hands of general assemblies sitting. That great contest had been in Glasgow anent the choice of their session, we got it settled with motioning the occasion; the old session was ordained to chuse the new: but that question which some would have moved, If the old session, being viciously chosen, was to be the elector? we did suppress. The negligence of some clerk had lost the most part of the acts of the presbytery at Newcastle; but it was ordained to deliver all could be had to Sir Archibald Johnston, to keep them *in retentis*. In the afternoon we had much debate for novations in our committee. Mr Andrew Cant, as I alledged, been put to by his nephew, did much extenuate them. Mr Henderson and Mr Robert Murray fell sharply on him. He freed himself of all suspicion. I was vexed on all hands in the committee. I was mouth for these who pressed the danger of novations; out of it I was beaten on as too slack in that matter. When, by the cunning delays of some, the matter was like to be cast to the end of the synod, and so to vanish, I gave over my agency; whereupon those who hated novations being enraged, drew a petition to be subscribed by too many hands. This I brought to our committee. It put them in a fray of division. They laid on me to draw an act, which I did to the satisfaction of all once. Yet thereafter some of our committee, repenting of their consent, it was laid on Mr Henderson to make an explanation of the former act anent novations. His draught did displease more than mine. At last, for fear of scandal, we agreed on pressing for the time all acts, and writing a letter by the moderator to the presbyteries troubled with novations. This letter I drew to the satisfaction of all; yet, after the assembly dissolved, the form of my draught was altered. This letter was brought from the presbyteries it was sent to, to our provincial synod, where we got it in-

serted in the questions of our visitations of churches, that novations in our bounds should be stopped according to that letter. This was the most difficile matter in our synod. Our northland brethren were much inflamed; and if it had come in face of synod, would have made a violent act; yet the places of those evils being alone among us in the west, they did leave the agenting of it to us. Divers practices of the brethren of Galloway, specially the deposition of Mr Gilbert Power, had wakened many of us against their new way; yet the managing of that matter falling, by God's providence, in my poor hands, it was guided so peaceably as I was able, and all was for this once fairly carried to all sides reasonable contentment.

The next three sessions, on Tuesday, August 3d, and Wednesday, 4th, before and after noon, were spent on particulars, or perfecting the particulars before mentioned. Every assembly is troubled with the plantation of Edinburgh. A little before this assembly, their clerk, Mr Guthrie, with his side of the council, had been busy to have drawn in his good comrade Mr Andrew Fairfoul from Leith; but the most of the town being grieved with the motion, called themselves together in the church by the bell after the second sermon; and finding my transportation to Glasgow passed, gave a call in the synod to three; the one failing the other, Mr James Hamilton, Mr David Forest, Mr Mungo Law. To Mr James they gave a *Nolumus*. Mr David did so peremptorily refuse in private and publick, that a whisper went amongst us he had a dangerous disease; yet when four of us were sent out to confer with him, we found nothing but too great and somewhat melancholick modesty in the man. Upon our report, the assembly voiced his abiding. In the mean time, the council of Edinburgh sent over to their commissioners new instructions to petition for me and Mr Robert Knox. My matter was then past. Mr Knox was not well liked of: so they moved only for a power to the commissioners of the general assembly to plant them in one man. They pitched on Mr James Wright; but his health was known to be so extraordinarily evil in the town, that we voiced his abiding: so yet they have been unhappy in their choices. The last synod sent to presbyteries a number of overtures for regulating of transportations. No diligence to count of was used for their examination or perfecting; so they passed in acts at this time, rashly enough in my judgement;

judgement; but because of my interest, I meddled not in that matter. The Isle of Sky was adjoined to the province of Argyle, and not to Ross. The Earl of Irvine was licensed to take over to France any two ministers he could persuade for his regiment; the one to be provided in 1000 pound; the other 1000 merk, with entertainment to themselves, horse, and man.

Sessions ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, on Thursday and Friday, these acts passed which ye see in print, with a number of particulars. The synod of Galloway was much eyed for divers of their rash acts. Their act for putting ministers to the trial of expectants was repealed; their deposition of an old man, Mr George Kincaid, near eighty years, for insufficiency, was found unjust. The causes of Mr Gilbert Power's deposition by all were found null, and he ordained to be reponed by Mr James Bonner. At the day of reposition a number of gentlemen and others came to the church, and with clubs and staves made opposition. This insolency filled all the country with clamour, and made the horns of the new way a little more conspicuous. The disdain of that affront cast good Mr James Bonner in a long and dangerous fever. In our meeting at Edinburgh we concurred with Mr Gilbert to complain of the riot. The council took order as we desired; only we advised, and sent our advice to the presbyteries of Galloway, to put all who were convicted to their publick repentance at the churches of Maybole and Staniskirk. Upon the parties humble penitence, and Mr Gilbert's peaceable repossession, we resolved to supplicate the council for the mitigation of the civil censure. Mr George Young, clerk of the reports, and some others, handled that matter so, that the impenitency of these of Galloway was made palpable to the whole synod. There was a fashious process also from the presbytery of St Andrew's. Mr David Merns, a man blameless, and of common parts of learning, had been deposed truly for insufficiency; but a number of other things were put in his sentence, which all were found to be null. With much ado the sentence stood; but with some qualification for the man's credit, and a provision out of his church of 400 merks till he was otherwise provided. Mr Andrew Affleck, Mr Andrew Peme, and Scottiscraig, were appointed for visitation of Orkney and Shetland. The fighting of the provincial books was for good purpose. A commis-

sion was drawn up, as you see in print, for attending now and then in Edinburgh. A number of good motions was recommended to their care. Upon Argyle's contriving and motion, Maitland unanimously was sent as our commissioner to King and parliament, wherein he proved both wise, industrious, and happy. Montgomery's petition came in hands; sharp enough flyting there was about it betwixt his Grace and Argyle. Always for time to come we made an act against such presumption. For the transmitting of our covenant to posterity, it was appointed, that of the principal there should be three famous transumptis under the hand of the clerk-register, the clerk of the assembly, and council, to be set in the books of parliament, assembly, and council. Mr James Fairly had oft been a suppliant for some place in his great necessity; when, after long delays, there did no possibility appear of any flock who would be intreated to receive him, at last Mr Andrew Affleck's transportation to Dundee opened a door to young Durie in Largo, where he was patron, to receive his old master at all our requests.

On Saturday was our thirteenth and last session. Here a fast was appointed. The causes were drawn up by some longsome and unmeet hand; the draught read was milked, and drawn better, as you may see. Yet the printed compend is not so good as this. The motion for twenty shilling from every church granted to James Murray for this year also, it is like it will not be granted again. It is thought a needless burden. The man is called weak, and dear in his extracts. I dissuaded Sir Archibald from moving any thing of an adjunct; yet he did venture, and carried it. He showed his willingness to serve us all his days faithfully and gratis; only for his help he desired he might have one to assist the kirk-meeting when he could not attend, and for giving of extracts, for whose actions he should be answerable. No man opposed the motion. Scotsraig, since no expences was allowed, excused his voyage to Orkney; and the tutor of Pitligo was named for him. Commissioners of the neighbour presbyteries appointed to meet with the presbytery of St Andrew's, for settling the differences anent the plantation of the town, which was done with good success.

The next assembly appointed at Edinburgh the first Wednesday of August. The moderator spake very wisely both to ministers and elders, especially about keeping of unity,

unity, and being aware of novation. All ended in great peace and love.

After the assembly we had not much inward trouble. The letter about novations we made be read in our provincial synod of Irvine, and from thence to be sent to particular sessions, where it calmed somewhat the headiness of people; but the brethren which were taxed thereby, whereof there were some six or seven in Ayr, and two or three elsewhere, were the more stirred, and prepared themselves to write, as they say, for strengthening their tenets. Some of them are very heady; yet we are comforted, that they increase not in number, the excesses of some of their followers, who have fallen into rigid Brownism in whole, does much scar good people from that way; as also the presbytery of Edinburgh their diligence, who, upon the relation from the synod of Aberdeen of one Gearnies, a gentleman, his avowed Brownism, caused read out of all the city-pulpits a warning against that way. In that our provincial made good overtures, for absence, and visitation of churches, which Mr Robert Ramsay drew up. They were too long. If we get the substance of them past the general, which we mind to try, as we got them through the provincial, our church-discipline will be better executed.

The commission from the general assembly, which before was of small use, is like almost to become a constant judicatory, and very profitable; but of so high a strain, that to some it is terrible already. In one of the two or three meetings I was present; for beside the publick advertisement from the moderator of the last general assembly, who is constant convener and moderator, I was seriously desired to come by my Lord Wariston. Our errand was, to hear account of my Lord Maitland's negociation. He delivered to us the parliament of England's return, granting all our desire, in abolishing of bishops, and requiring some of our ministers to assist at their synod against the 5th of November, or when it might be called. Of this we were very glad, and blessed God. From the King, his answer was, a promise to consider our desires. It was found expedient to nominate commissioners, that they might be in readiness. It was intended by some, that only ministers should go, and that very few. In the meeting I moved the conjunction of elders; but I got not a man to second me; so I gave it over: yet the absurdity
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and danger of such an omission pressing my mind, I drew up reasons for my judgement, which I communicate to Argyle and Wariston; and when they liked the motion, I went so about it, that at the next meeting it was carried without opposition. Fearing I might be one of the number to go, I dealt in private to my uttermost to decline it; besides the hazardous travel, I remember the great loss I was very near to have suffered by my last voyage, had not my good friend Mr George Young represented to my Lord Chancellor and Argyle the truth from the writ. Always my experience made me upon many grounds to decline that voyage, some whereof intending to be gone before the election. Sundry would fain have been employed; and lest they should have gotten themselves named, Argyle, in his cunning way, got them on the committee of nominators. That committee named Mr Alexander Henderson, Mr Robert Douglass, Mr Samuel Rutherford, Mr George Gillespie, and me; Cassils, Maitland, and Wariston, for elders. Mr Alexander was extremely averse from going, protesting his former expectation of death before he could attain London: but when all could not avail, he passionately complained of the great ingratitude he had found of sundry, who put heavy burdens on him, and were ready to invent or receive injurious calumnies of him. Cassils was much averse, and made great opposition. Every man said something; but no man was gotten excused. The miserable condition of the English affairs have yet kept us all at home.

At that time the King was setting up his standard at Nottingham, but was coming small speed. My Lord Brook's forces gave the Cavaliers sundry disasters. It was thought if Essex, in his first march, had used his time, the King's army might easily have been dissipated, as Bedford did clean beat Hertford out of the fields, as Manchester dissipated Strang his forces, and Fairfax with Hotham did reign about York. As Portsmouth rendered, and nothing appeared of note from Denmark and Holland, so the King's main army could not have sustained any great impression if it had been hotly pursued; but getting breath and strength from Wales, and being let go by at Shrewsbury by Essex, at once they took that strange resolution of running straight upon London, the heart of the parliament, where it seems they had intelligence, and great hopes of a party, and the conjunction of Kentshire
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being alienate from the parliament, by their Deering's disgrace.

In this quick and long march, you know their meeting at Keynton, where, above all expectation, there was a great battle. To this day the relations are much contrary. That we hear most constant is, that Prince Rupert and Ruthven routed both the wings of the parliament's horse, and if they had returned timeously from the chace, the foot also might have been undone; but the foot have been most brave fellows. In some three hours at most, the King's general (Lindsay) was killed, his standard taken and regained, a great carnage of men, above 6700 were counted buried in that parish. Both have been thoroughly frayed, for the next well near two or three days, keeping about the same field, neither durst make any new onset. Yet with his trained army the King makes on towards London. But Essex preveens, and laid the body of his army in the city. It seems that his Majesty's confidence of a party has been great, when being well near beaten by a part, at least not the whole of Essex's army, and that harassed in their swift march, he durst yet venture on Bramford, and thereafter intend to essay both Essex's refreshed army, and all the force of the city. The most think this rashness might have cost him dear, had not good friends in Essex's council hindered his onset and revenge at Bramford, much against the advice of our Hurry, who for his stoutness and wisdom that day was much cried up by the Londoners, and intrusted, albeit under the name of Sir William Waller, with a flying power of dragoons, wherewith he took Chichester from Cranford's select troops, and Winchester with his grandson the governor. The King was glad to retire, since no friendship did appear either in London or Kent, and the castle of Windsor was made good by Sir John Seaton against Prince Rupert. At this place both have lien somewhat quiet, the parliament not daring to attempt Reading, nor the Cavaliers Windsor. The King has turned the parliament's engine against them. They resolved, without strokes, to have starved the King's army for want of money; but he by the diligence of the Queen, with your Prince, and other industries, having got much money from abroad, and much also at home by force and entreaty, he hopes to subsist at Oxford till the mutinies of the Londoners for want of trade, and the failing of
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the friendly shires, after so vast sums as Scotland, Ireland, and these wars has drawn from them, force the parliament to put a blank in his hand; which as yet they are not minded to do, albeit grievously overburdened. That country is in a most pitiful condition; no corner of it free from the evils of a cruel war. The case is like to the old miseries of the Guelphs and Gibbelins. Every shire, every city, many families, divided in this quarrel; much blood and universal spoil made by both where they prevail: besides the main armies, which have made their marches to and fro from Wales to London, there hath been in the north all this winter on foot, Newcastle and Cumberland, and now, Gen. King for the King; Fairfax, Hotham, and Cholmondely, for the parliament. In the Irish shires, Derby for him, others for them. In Cornwall, Hopton for him, and Stainford for them, betwixt which there hath been continual skirmishing, let be plundering and censing. Of these evils great appearance of increase with the shearing. We might have been happy instruments of accommodation, had not the wilfulness of both parties going about in a circle, upon their apprehension of their advantage, made them both, but by turns made them, untractable, and our own unhappy divisions made us less considerable mediators.

I told you the way of our first mediation, how it was rejected by the King when our Chancellor came up to York, for then there were hopes of carrying Hull, and of drawing our whole council to declare the equity of the King's proceedings; but the parliament preveened that by Sir Archibald Johnston's voyage, by his letter to a friend, by the stiff petition, and convening of the conservators of peace, who overswayed in that point the council. At that time the King being desperate of our assistance, and the parliament apprehending no need of it, we were no more solicited by either: so we lay for a long time very calm and secure. The Marquis of Hamilton and Argyle's intimate familiarity, kept down the malecontents from any stirring. Yet I was ever fearing what William Murray, who was in the depth of all the King's secrets, his long stay in the Abbey, and his frequent private meeting with Hamilton, might produce. But after Keynton and Bramford or thereabouts, when Newcastle had gathered his northern army, and in his publick manifesto had avowed his employing of Papists, the parliament

ment being much abated in courage, they thought meet to crave help of us. There was a great word of commissioners coming from them to our council, and it was a wonder if they desired any help that they deigned not to use better means for its obtaining. I know there appeared an inclination in many to have raised some men to have lien on the borders, for our own safety, at least, if commissioners had come. But, as I take it, such was their oversight, that they used no other means but a declaration of their desire to have our help according to the late treaty. This is delivered to Lindsay at London; who immediately goes out with it to Reading, I think, to the King. We heard no more of it for a long time, till Lanerk comes down to our council with the King's letter, answering that declaration in a most bitter style. Hamilton here bestirs himself, so that the council gives warrant to print that letter, for the information of the whole kingdom of the King's equitable proceedings. This was a trumpet that wakened us all out of our deep sleep. Finding that Hamilton, Lanerk, and Lindsay, had concurred so far besides our expectation to get that letter printed, and the parliament's declaration suppressed, also that Lanerk professed farther instructions to be delivered to the council, the 4th of January, we conceived it likely that they were, by all the power they had, to get through a warrant for a levy to the King. This put us all aghast; for we were feared that the first action of such an army, might have been the knocking down our best patriots, who lately had most opposed the malecontents. To preveen this, there was a great concourse, especially from Fife, of gentlemen and ministers, to Edinburgh. The commissioners of the church, the conservators of peace, the council, met all by themselves. The gentry drew up a petition, with the advice of the church-commissioners, to the conservators of peace, to deal with the council, that the parliament of England's declavation might be printed as well as the King's letter; and that it might be declared, that the warrant which the council gave for printing of the King's letter, should not be counted any approbation of the matter therein. This they easily obtained; for Lanerk, at that instant, took out of his pocket a letter from the King, almost desiring the same. Here the matter might have rested: for Lanerk finding the people awakened, thought meet to suppress all his farther commissions; only he shewed he had brought a

safe-conduct from the King, which long before was come from the parliament, for any we pleased to send to treat. But to be even with the parliament, who had excepted Roxburgh and Lennox from treating, he shewed, the King would not have Wariston and Kerse; neither, as some say, the Chancellor. It was feared that the faction having got the new accession of the Hamiltons, should be most in council, and so carry it, that the Marquis should not only be a treater, but get such colleagues as for the most part should be at his devotion. To help this, Argyle and others were careful, before the nomination of any, to have the heads of the commission, and all their instructions, agreed upon. Then they wrought, that only one from every estate should be named. This being obtained, the last point came of will: for it was evident, that none among the nobles was so fit as the Chancellor, among the gentry as Sir Archibald, among the burrows as Mr Barclay, and a divine being necessary for the great affair of the church's full union, none was comparable to Mr Henderson. In that design the faction was clearly overreached; neither was their other designs more happy. They had got a number of hands to a petition, somewhat cross to the former, very cunningly and dangerously drawn by the heads of Hamilton and Traquair, and the hand also, as they say, of this last: ye have here a double of it. This at once, as a most dangerous piece, was flown upon, both by the church-commissioners and conservers of peace. When neither private nor public dealing, both in fair reasoning, and threats of citation before the general assembly, could draw any of them to disavow their petition, the commissioners of the church took a very good and necessary, but a most peremptor and extraordinary course, of that declaration against them to be read in all the churches, according to that warning which you see in print. This is like to get punctual obedience by all the ministers of the land, to the greatest disgrace, but to the greatest irritation also that ever that unhappy faction yet suffered. By this means the faction's followers are made fewer. Yet they mind not to give over. The Chancellor had got the gathering the annuities; these were lifted by Traquair peaceably; but the malice of these men is such as to strengthen their party, and grieve their opposites by any means. They have drawn a supplication to the King, for remission of the annuities, to which they have
got

got many hands of men, whom a small profit does mislead. This is a very untimely motion: If they obtain it, they must be counted benefactors to the country, and the Chancellor have so much loss; but, which is worst, the supplicants must be engaged to the King's party for that new favour: if they obtain it not, yet they are the lovers of the country's ease; but their opposites are oppressors. After the presenting of the cross petition, the gentry also made a second petition to the commissioners of peace, to deal with the King for a parliament, and we for a general assembly; for which end Mr Henderson drew a delicate supplication, which we will not get, till first it come to the King. For all that Hamilton could do to the contrary, the petition for a parliament was made our commissioners chief instruction.

Our heart burnings increase, and with them our dangers; so much the more as Montrose, Ogilvie, and Aboyn, who this long while have been very quiet, are on a sudden to the King; for what, we cannot tell. We conceive, through the burning of our neighbours houses in England and Ireland, and the great reek that begins to smoke in our own, dangers cannot be small. As yet the ministry, burghs, and many of the gentry, stand fast; but we fear the two part of our nobility, and many of our gentry. Our greatest fears are from the great security, ignorance, and profanity, and scandalous sins of all estates, as many as ever. We have no refuge but the mercy of God, which we resolve to fly to, especially in that publick humiliation, February 26th, and the Thursday thereafter. Our commissioners, we hope, before this are at court: God give them good speed. Whether the Queen's return shall be for the increase or diminishing of our evils, we will shortly know. — The Lord be merciful to our poor land. Farewell.

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

By no means give over your task, but be gathering from all hands materials. What I know I shall ever give you an account of soon or syne.

33. *To Mr William Spang.*

Dear Cousin,

— The hopes there was of peace in England are now clean vanished. After the cruelty of Bramford, the parliament cast away, for a time, all thoughts of peace; so much the more, as the petition of the Londoners got so harsh and ensnaring an answer: yet their necessities made them thereafter once to try it. They spent so much time in framing these fourteen propositions, to which the King's answer, with his six propositions, was not in my mind so intolerable as I have found it called; but the houses debates about disbanding, and a limited cessation, took so much time, to the huge loss every day of the land, we were once much afraid of their fainting: but, since, we see their courage continues; and their success in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cornwall, hath been pretty good. Yet the traitorous or casual slaughter of Brooks, and the shameful defection of Hollis, hath done them hurt; but their greatest damage is from your Prince. Readily his extraordinary assistance may undo either him or your estates. If the Queen got her will, were it not reasonable she did employ to the uttermost of her power, all the power of this isle, for the advancement of her great friends for him? If God help the parliament, shall they not labour with the estates to get order with these who have been so mighty instruments of their trouble? A huge pity that we should be a fountain of miseries to these flourishing estates; also the churches of France and Germany are not yet relieved from the woes, they say, we occasioned. However, that treaty which was in hand, we hear is broken off, upon the interception of mutual letters betwixt the King and Queen, since her arrival. The armies are making for a new battle; the Lord save the King and all his family from the least evil. Our prayers are likewise for assistance to the parliament; for all men who here are counted good, continue to be in the opinion, that the welfare of the Reformed religion, not only in this isle, but whole Christendom, does much depend on their prosperity. We hear our commissioners not only have all their propositions denied, but their persons vilified at court, and well near restrained from free meeting
with

with any. The counsel of our malecontents overstay there. We fear a storm may shortly blow among us. Our declaration against the cross petition was read in all our land, with great success. The presbytery of Stirling was like to be disobedient; but shortly, without hearing, to our great joy, they became better advised. Since that ground of division was taken away, the malecontents made another band of union among themselves. A petition to the King, immediately to be eased of the annuity. This divers of the council subscribed by Hamilton's example and advice, but the diligence and wisdom of Argyle got this also suppressed. He obtained a command of council to all burghs and shires, that there should be no subscribing of that petition. He brought the subscribers in the council well near to censure for that dangerous preparative of petitioning the King immediately, out of the legal channel of the council. Assurance was given, that the council would petition effectually for the remission of the annuity; or if that could not be obtained, for employment of it in defraying the common burdens and King's debt, not for any private ease; and however, that at the next parliament, they would use all possible means for its abolition. This mine being sufficiently countermined, upon the first sure report of the Queen's landing, Hamilton and Traquair posted away to York, where it is feared they have too much influence in her council. The report goes, which to me is a fable, of Hamilton's advancement to a duchy, and marriage with one of the Queen of Bohemia's daughters, and of a command to all our nobility, who are in England, to come home, doubtless for no good to our land; but at once you shall hear of all, as I can get information. The two prime presenters of the cross petition, very shortly died thereafter of a fever, Kellie and Ker, and in Ker all the males of his father's family. So that very great house must go to a stranger. The affairs of Ireland go not well, the southern army about Dublin, for want of pay is but weak. It is much for them to keep some towns they have. The northern army hath very hardly subsisted. The parliament hath been able, from the beginning, to send them very little money. The country is well near desolate. Our well-affected nobles, and others, have contribute, by way of loan, near L. 20,000 Sterling. It is thought, if any thing be ado among us, that army being on foot,
and

and near, may do us good service. Readily our council, on Wednesday, may recal our commissioners. The event of a battle in England, whatever way it fall, may make strange in all our dominions.

34. *To Mr William Spang. June 2. 1643.*

Reverend and Beloved Cousin,

—As for our publick affairs, so far as I understand, this is the present estate. Upon our council's, or rather our conservators of peace, their peremptor recalling of our commissioners against the 5th of May, they were dismissed. That day they left Oxford, the King and Prince went, with all they could make, towards Reading, to raise Effex's siege; for after the breaking up of the treaty, the parliament gave order to leleagure that town, contrare to all mens expectation. The Governor Ashton having got a wound by a piece of tyle from the wall with a cannon-shot, Colonel Fielding did quickly capitulate. The King's army was repulsed at a pass with great loss. However, our commissioners came by York. The Chancellor only saluted the Queen. On the 10th of May we met at Edinburgh; albeit not very frequently; the council, the conservators of peace, and of the common burdens, of the church, severally in their four bodies. My Lord Chancellor and Mr Robert Barclay made an account of the negociation to the commission for peace. Mr Henderson made the like to us. We found, that all had been exceedingly flighted. His Majesty would give them no hearing, till Lanerk, who had fallen among the parliament's soldiers, were come. Thereafter he pressed to see their instructions. They were offered all on the acceptance of their negociation; but so long as their capacity and power to treat was denied, they shunned that anticipation of shewing their instructions. Hereupon the Chancellor was sharply upbraided. When at last their instructions were shewed, their power to treat was questioned. This they did make evident in writ. Before any answer was given twenty days did pass; for his Majesty had no leisure. When they did in twenty-four hours give in their replies, other twenty days would pass before the secretaries, Nicholas, Falkland, Hyde, Ashburnham, and Lanerk, could have leisure to answer: so the year should have passed in
vain,

vain, had they not been recalled. No private nor familiar converse they got, but all in public, in a very harsh way. At their departure, his Majesty told the Chancellor, "He would send his mind to the council, but by another than him." I think Mr Henderson had been brought there much by William Murray, and some others advice, who spoke much of their confidence, that Mr Henderson would do wonders with the King. At his first coming, the King strove to persuade him of the justice and necessity of his arms, and of the parliament's evident injuries. When he found Mr Henderson not so credulous as he expected, he did at once change his countenance, so much the more as Mr Pickering's letters, intercepted by Newcastle, did signify Mr Henderson to be the author of that supplication of the church which was brought up, and that it was printed at London for the people's great encouragement, before the King had taken leisure to read it. Also the reports of our evil countrymen, of the sermons of our preachers in Edinburgh, and of their prayers, had made not only certain persons, but all of us, very unfavoury. Their life was very uncomfortable all the time at Oxford; their letters homeward, or from home to them, all broken up. When they complained of this, his Majesty promised it should be helped, if they would purchase from the parliament a safeguard for his letters, else not. It was answered, they were confident to obtain it for all his letters to Scotland: but this did not satisfy; albeit funny letters directed to Scotland on the back, were only to be to the Queen and Earl of Newcastle. None durst shew them any sensible favour. In the streets, and from the windows, they were continually reviled by all sorts of people; and by their secret friends they were desired to look to their persons, as if from stabbing or poison there had been some danger from that enraged party of prelates and Papists against whom their commission was express. This policy was, like the rest of our unhappy malecontents wisdom, extremely foolish; for it was very much for the King's ends to have given to our commissioners far better words, and a more pleasant countenance. But we behoved to feel what power our friends at York had at Oxford, to make us resent, though to the King's great damage, our neglect to employ them in this commission. Our voices being asked, we declared our full satisfaction with Mr Henderson's proceedings, but our great unsatisfaction

faction with many things in his Majesty's answer; and, above all, his avowing to make use of the Papists arms. We appointed an apology to be drawn for our clearing from divers imputations laid on us in that printed answer, together with a new supplication for uniformity of church-government, and disarming of Papists. The heads of it were drawn up by some five or six of us, and read publicly, but left to the moderator and clerk to put it in form at leisure by Mr Henderson's pen. We went not farther, I assure you; whatever state-conclusion was taken, all of us, so far as I know, were altogether free of it. His Majesty had sent down most of the Scots about him to prevent any motion might be amongst us. Hamilton, Montrose, Angus, Montgomery, Ogilby, and others, had returned from York, where we heard they had not well agreed. There was in hands among them a deputation for Scotland, whereby Hamilton should have been Lieutenant for the King, Callendar his General, and Baillie his Lieutenant, Montrose General of horse: but that Montrose absolutely refused to join in any service with Hamilton, whom he avowed had been, and ever would be, untrusty. These tales came out from both sides. From Oxford, before our commissioners, came down another band; Morton, Roxburgh, Lanerk, Annandale, Kin-noul, Carnwath, Dumfermling, and others. They made great speed for fear of the parliament's army: they thought, when they came to Lancaster, to have been conducted by Derby's forces; but they found them all dissipated; so were forced to take ship, and with much ado came to Carlisle. Lanerk from Carlisle took post to York for the perfecting of his instructions, where his stay was much longer than the affairs he was intrusted with did require; for it seems his Majesty did reckon to have had his mind by Lanerk declared to the council as soon as the commissioners could make their report: but, whether by Lanerk's design, or negligence, God's providence carried it other-ways. The meeting appointed for the commissioners was the 4th of May. This, by their letters, on their way to York, was delayed to the 8th. On the 9th their report was made; and because the matter was of importance, Argyle contrived it so, that the three bodies, all much interested, should be called together: so on the 10th there met with the council the conservators of peace, and the commissioners for the common burdens, where, at once,

Hamilton and his followers found themselves over-reached: for the motion being made, of convocating the estates for advising, the matters in hand being of such importance, that these who were present durst not intermeddle with them, the disputes grew long and sharp. Hamilton, Southesk, and the good Advocate, urged, that the three bodies were met only for consultation, not for determination; but the contrare was voiced, that yesterday's act of council gave every member of all the three bodies a decisive voice. The next question was more hotly handled, of their power to call the estates. This Argyle and Wariston made clear by law and fundry palpable practiques, even since K. James's going to England, where the estates have been called before the King was acquainted. Then the third point was agitated, of the necessity or expedience to call the states at that time. Hamilton pressed much a little delay till Lanerk's coming, which was hourly expected; but the most being weary with expectation, from the 4th day to the 8th, from the 8th to the 10th, resolved they would wait no longer than that one night. So to-morrow, to our great joy, and the great confusion of others, very unanimously they concluded a convention of estates at Edinburgh June 22. To this, of all the three bodies, not ten were opposite. The three named, with Callendar, Glencairn, Orbiston, Advocate, Register, Treasurer-depute, Morton, and Dumfermling, compeared not. The proclamation on the following day you may read. No word as yet was of Lanerk. He came on Monday the 15th, where he seemed to be in great rage; for beside the conclusion, whereof it seems they never dreamed, the Chancellor that morning had gone home, and Argyle likewise was from the town; so a council could not be got called for to hear him. After some days advisement, he takes a course which seems a strange preparative. He sends to all, at least the chief burghs and noblemen, particular letters from his Majesty at Oxford, April 21. declaring most solemnly his resolution to keep all, which by our parliaments and assemblies had been decreed; and withal requiring, that seditious informers to the contrare, might be punished. How this his Majesty's immediate access to the burghs, and others, in matters of that nature, will be taken by the council, we will shortly hear. We are all a-flight for this great meeting. It is expected there will be there commissioners from the par-

liament of England to require us to arm for them. We have a solemn fast in all the land Wednesday before the 22d, and Sunday before the Wednesday. We had never more need of God's mercy; our sins are many; the divisions of our nobles open and proclaimed; the divisions of our church are nothing less than they were. Your friend Mr John Galbraith moderator had written, in name of the presbytery of Stirling, as is thought by the pen of Mr Harry Guthrie, to Mr Robert Douglas, a most bitter letter, concerning the commissioners of the general assembly's declaration against the cross petition. This was feared to be the beginning of a great flame; yet at once the brethren there recalled their letter, and Argyle, casting himself to their synod, seemed to have given them satisfaction. Notwithstanding Mr Harry Guthrie did not, as he promised to Argyle, keep our meeting at Edinburgh; so that fire is feared to lie yet under the embers. We passed it over in utter silence for the time, wishing it may die out of its own accord. On the other part, the matter of our novations is worse than before. You were witness to our great care of it the last assembly. The letter I procured to some of our presbyteries, was made use of, as I wrote to you, in our provincial at Irvine. This did much exasperate the brethren who were patrons of that way; so that immediately Mr Gabriel Maxwell, by the consent of some others, Mr J. Nevo, Mr M. Mowat, Mr W. Adair, Mr W. Cobrown, Mr G. Hucheson, Mr W. Fullerton, did write, in five sheets of paper, a full treatise, in a very bitter and arrogant strain, against the three nocent ceremonies, *Pater noster*, *Gloria Patria*, and kneeling in the pulpit, proving, by a great rabble of arguments, both particular and general, which go far beyond these three particulars questioned, the unlawfulness of our church-practice. Of this treatise the fame spreads, that our brethren were confident to carry by disputation, in face of any assembly, the truth of any of their tenets; and if they were oppressed by wrong determinations, their willingness to suffer all extremities of persecution. These two reports did much perplex our minds: so at our last provincial in Glasgow, we resolved to be no longer silent, and yet to carry all fair in a quiet way. In the censure of Ayr presbytery, the misregard of the moderator of the general assembly is regretted; also the open patronising of novations by word and writ is complained of. Since the brethren,

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who, as was expected, should have avowed their judgments, did all keep silence, we determined to make a reference of the increase of novations, both in pastors and people, from our synod to the next general assembly; and withal required the brethren that had any scruple, to confer with, and deliver, if they had any writs to the professors and ministers of Glasgow; also, that these who were shortly to attend the commission of the general assembly at Edinburgh, should relate the case, and crave the advice of the brethren there. This determination did please all. The brethren delivered to us both the former writ, and another shorter, almost the extract of it, drawn by Mr George Hucheson, in a letter to Mr Samuel Rutherford. These papers, they say, had the mind of some seven of them, and twice so many in the synod of Galloway. As the increase of this evil afflicted me, so this plain dealing was to me comfortable, and a ground of hope; for at the last assembly, and all former, all of these brethren had assured us publickly, they were free of such a judgement. When we came to Edinburgh, we found it untimorous to make any clamour; only we convened in Mr Robert Douglas's chamber, Mr A. Henderson, Mr D. Dick, Mr R. Blair, Mr S. Rutherford, Mr G. Gillespie. Mr David and I made to them a true and full relation of the business. They were all exceeding grieved. We resolved to write answers to their arguments, and essay to satisfy them in reason. For this end, I was careful to get promises of Mr S. Rutherford, Mr G. Gillespie, Mr R. Blair, also my Lord Wariston, and Mr David Catherwood, our best penman, that they should, every one of them, presently set themselves to write answers to the papers I delivered them. My colleague Mr David hath written already very good and solid answers to all they say; and did so far prevail in one conference with Mr W. Adair, the chief of them for preaching, that he conformed with us the other day openly in our church to all the three ancient ceremonies. We hope God will help us to get our brethren satisfied, and by them our people. However, I am doing all I can to set all instruments on work for the quenching of that fire.—

35. To Mr William Spang. July 26. 1643.

Reverend and Dear Cousin,

— The affairs of this isle go as a ship exceedingly tossed in a dangerous sea. In my last I shewed how Lanerk had sent letters under the casnet to many noblemen and burghs, declaring the King's mind to keep what was promised us, but withal running out in bitter invectives against the parliament of England. In the beginning of July, Hamilton and Lanerk, in the first ordinary council-day, Argyle, Eglinton, and others, not being come, carried it over the Chancellor, Balmerino, and others, that a declaration of his Majesty, to the former purpose, should go from the council in print to all our market-crosses. But behold, in this very nick of time, while the King minds to keep us in a deep sleep, is proclaimed over the whole land, there breaks out a wicked and foul plot, to cast us presently on fire and sword, and all the calamities both of an intestine and foreign war; which the next council-day, at Argyle's coming, is put in print, and sent with diligence all over our land, to the great confusion of all the malignants among us. The matter was this. On the report of the Queen's landing, the most of our evil Lords went to York. God divided their tongues there for our good. The common report among us goes, to the which the parties themselves gives ground, That Montrose having a writ, as he said, from twenty-two noblemen, or many of chief respect, did offer to the Queen a levy of 10,000 Scots, and for this should have received L. 10,000 Sterling; that Hamilton being advised, demonstrated the impossibility of that performance. For this disappointment, Montrose refused to have any society with Hamilton, notwithstanding of all her Majesty's endeavours. Yet some mischief hath been hatched then among them, which thus miraculously comes to be discovered. On a day, some miles above Knockfergus, near a creek where the Irish had a castle, Major Ballantine, with some few of our Scots horse, had an outroad, where they perceived a fellow land in a boat from a little ship within sight of shore. The fellow being posed, and, after some perplexed answers, threatened, declared plainly, that his master the Earl of Antrim was aboard; that he came to spy if, in
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that creek, there was safe landing for him, which having found, he was to make a sign to the ship. Ballantine being glad of this report, by threats made the spy give his sign: upon the which Antrim in a boat, with two or three of his men, came to land, being sure from that castle, with an Irish convoy, to be brought to the Charlemount unto the Irish General, with whom, some weeks before, his brother Alexander had been: but finding himself in Ballantine's hands, he was amazed. At once he was carried to Monroe, to his old lodging at Carrickfergus, whence the other year he had fled from the General's custody by a pretty stratagem. Having obtained the General's pass for a sick man, two of his servants carried him in a bed as sick to the shore, and got him boated for Carlisle, whence he went to York, to be an instrument of this happy discovery. The servant who carried him away was taken with him, and, for his break of prison, was hanged. Before his death he confessed, as was for the most part also verified by the Earl's own deposition, subscribed with his hand, and by the three letters of Nids, Airley, and two of Aboyne's, all written and subscribed with their own hands, found on Antrim at his taking, which were read and seen in the autographs at our meeting, That a commission was given to Antrim to treat with the Irish rebels; that the English and they might agree; that Monroe, if he would accept, should receive L. 5000 Sterling in hand, and a patent of the third place in the army, which should go from pacified Ireland to England; that if this was not accepted, the first service of the reconciled Irish should be, to dispatch the disaffected Scots; that thence they should go by sea to Carlisle, where Nithsdale and our southland Lords should join; that Collhittoch's sons should waken our isles; that Maclean and Gorrum, and the other clans disaffected to the Campbells, should go to arms; that Huntly, and his son Aboyne, with Banff and Airley, Montrose and Marischal, should raise our north; that Hamilton, and many others, should stir in our country; that so in a trice we should become a field of blood. Great probability for all this; albeit no certain evidence can be had for some parts of it. Clear, that a service was in hand in the north, in the south, in the isles, in Ireland, undertaken at York by Montrose, Aboyne, Niddisdale, Antrim, and many others; towards which the Queen sent a ship of ammunition, which went from

from York : Also that Montrose called a meeting at Old Aberdeen of fundry noblemen, to subscribe a writ for an enterprife under Montrose and Ogilvie's conduct ; which Huntly subscribed ; but Marischal refused absolutely, and made Huntly recal his subscription ; which, in the great providence of God, seems to have marred the design ; for after that Montrose did so speak to his friends, that some of them, in his name, did draw on a conference betwixt him and Mr Henderson at Stirling ; albeit the fruit of this conference is no ways so great as was expected. The man is said to be very double, which in so proud a spirit is strange. Argyle and our nobles, especially since Hamilton's falling off, would have been content, for the peace of the country, to have dispensed with that man's bypast misdemeanours ; but private ends misleads many. He, Antrim, Huntly, Airley, Niddisdale, and more, are ruined in their estates. Publick commotions are their private subsistence. Against this dangerous evil a convention of estates was a sovereign remeid. We had a care in chusing honest commissioners. At the day, June 22. was a frequent meeting ; never a parliament so great ; all the Barons and Burgeses, without exception of one, was for the common weal. The Bavard Lords came with great backs, and none greater than Carnwath ; but at once Fife, and the west gentlemen, came in so thick, that the backs of the other were overshadowed and evanished. There was a great meeting of the ministers. All went one way. Our reply to the King's answer was printed. We are put on a remonstrance of the church and kingdom's dangers. Mr David and I had resolved to be very quiet in this meeting, (when we were at home), and so we were. We thought a necessity of putting our country in a posture of arms great, and our assisting of the parliament of England also necessary against that party, whom we doubted not intended our overthrow no less than theirs. But these conclusions of peace or war being without our element, and alone the work of the state, which then happily was convened, we thought fit to have no meddling therewith ; yet it being demonstrate from some of Lord Wariston's papers, that the ministry in the like occasion have been oft careful to remonstrate to the state the church's grievances, dangers, and desires, it was, without a contrair voice, determined, that we should draw up a remonstrance to the estate. We were much encouraged to this conclusion

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sion by the very timeous letters of your divines, which we caused to translate, and print in Latin and English. Some few did except a little at some expressions, which they thought not so apposite to the English government and ceremonies as the time required. I thought we were obliged to you for that timeous courtesy of your neighbours. Surely, if the synods of Holland, and your other provinces, together with the churches of such as might be pleased to let such letters fall from their hands, we think it might much advantage the common cause. If the Popish and Prelatick party prevail in England, few here doubts but a civil war, or, which is worse, a tyranny, shall quickly arise among you. Our remonstrance, now in print, was well taken by the estates; and in a writ they gave us thanks; adding of themselves sundry more sensible dangers; for the remedies whereof they intreated our advice. This piece of service also was done in a short writ, which also will be printed. In this we carefully abstain from the mentioning of arms, that the envy of this conclusion should not justly be put on us. All this time I was so busied in private, that I seldom went to the publick meetings; and when I came, it was but for the mere fashion; for my mode was, in adding and paring, and making ready for the press my piece against Brownism, which I had forgot much of these two years; and yet when I had done all I intended, I did ergh to let it go abroad at this time, for sundry reasons, upon the which I mind to resolve shortly. In our meeting Mr Harry Guthrie's matter came over here; but the man was so discreet, that it was carried quietly. It was complained, that the warning and declaration anent the cross petition, which by the commission was appointed to be published by every minister, had not been only neglected by some presbyteries of brethren, but also bitter papers scattered against the act of the commission. At last Mr Harry shewed, that their presbytery had written to the moderator their scruples; but after had resolved themselves, and obeyed. All who had scattered that or any paper against the peace of our church, he thought should be cited to the general assembly; especially those who had scattered papers against the acts of the assembly, and writs against the nocent ceremonies, as they call them. It was resolved, that the brethren of Auchterarder, for their neglect to read the pieces, should be cited; and if any authors or scatterers of these scandalous

scandalous papers could be found, that they likewise should be summoned. As for the writs against the acts of the assemblies, it was a matter for the assembly, and not for the commission: if any would delate or accuse any for such wrong, the moderator promised to give summons for that end. What will become of this matter, I know not. These who promised to write, did all fail. In a conference we had, Mr Samuel and Mr George Gillespie were so scrupulous in the point of scandal, which to Mr Dickson, Mr R. Blair, and me, seemed most clear, that we had no will that these two should confer with the dissenting brethren, lest in that point they should harden them. Mr David and Mr Robert had two or three conferences with the young men, but for no purpose. Mr Henderson, and sundry, would have all these things mis-kent till we be at a point with England. In the mean time that evil grows among us. What the assembly will do in it, God knows.

Our estates received from the King, by Lanerk, a sharp letter, taxing, That he by their indiction was surprised; that he permitted them to meet for seeing to the maintenance of the Irish army, and the defraying by the brotherly assistance, their common burdens, and seeing to the quiet of the country; but discharging to meddle with the affairs of England. Hamilton, and some others of his side, voiced their presence according to the King's letter; but that drew on the question of the house's constitution, whether absolutely or with limitation? When absolutely had carried it, Hamilton came no more to the house. This was a matter small in the original, which arose to a great height. Among the multitude of our countrymen, who were sent from Oxford and York to advance the King's affairs among us, six of the chief, Morton, Roxburgh, Kinnoul, Lanerk, Annandale, and Carnwath, coming through Lancashire, were moved by the Earl of Derby to write to the Queen at York, that unless her Majesty would send a speedy supply of some 3000 or 4000 men, that country was like to be lost for the great prejudice of his Majesty's service. This letter is intercepted, and sent to the parliament; who presently discerns all the six intermeddlers and disturbers of their peace against the treaty, and that they might be answerable to them, sends one Mr Walden to plead before our conservers of peace. This accident puts these men from all
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thoughts of that service they came to do. Upon their own defence at the beginning, there were very hard words among them. When they were required to remove from the table during their process, Roxburgh was very sharp, but in terms; Morton's passion miscarried him clean; but most Kinnoul, with oaths and curses, he would not remove, but would abide and voice. Yet suddenly, at his entry in coach, so dangerous a cholick seized on him that he was like to have died that night, and to this day was never able to return to that place. Much labour was for the accommodation of this business. Once it was near agreed, that they should write an humble remonstrance to the parliament of England, acknowledging their unhappiness in writing that letter, hoping hereby to give the parliament satisfaction; and in the mean time they promised not to intermeddle in any thing concerned England. But here was the difference: They would have the terms of their act conceived thus: *In the mean time they should give no offence by their intermeddling with any thing concerned England.* This all the Lords consented unto: but Wariston, by many reasons, required it might be conceived thus, *and in the mean time they should not intermeddle.* Herein all the barons and burghs joined to Wariston, and carried it. This so exasperated the delinquents, that they took up their remonstrance to the parliament, and required to plead their cause, and for that cause required advocates. This, after much debate, was refused; and they were told, the parliament of England was the only judge of their cause; that in those points the conservers of peace were to cognosce; they might use the private assistance of all they pleased, and give, in word or writ, all the defences they thought fit; but they could hear no advocate plead in that cause. The first writ they gave in was very bitter, and questioned the authority, as was said, both of the parliament of England and conservers of peace; but being advised better, they took up their dangerous writ, and returned to their first way, of humbly remonstrating to the parliament. So that matter does as yet stand.

My Lord Carnwath, that monster of profanity, hath before sundry said to the King, when our commissioners came to Oxford, "that Scotland was not content, by their
" own rebellion, to have troubled the King; but also
" would yet again join with the rebels in England for to
" ruin the King and his children." After some days he

had puffed with his great back, the states sent a macer to make him come instantly before them: he promised to do so, but fled: whereupon they sent a lion-herald to the cross, commanding the Earl of Carnwath, within twenty-four hours, to present his person in the tolbooth, under the pain of 10,000 pounds; but he not compearing, search was made for so much of his money to be employed in the first common charge, and witnesses were summoned to depone in his cause. Traquair was thought to be a great stickler in our state-affairs; that he was a great guide in all the counsels at York; that he had penned the cross petition, and the petition against the annuity; that the act of parliament in his favours, was upon the express condition of his no farther meddling. Being informed by his friends of his danger, he sent by his son, my Lord Linton, an humble supplication, to be heard at a committee, before they should give order to summon him. At this committee many a deep protestation he made of his great innocency of all he heard was to be laid to his charge: but was not believed; so order was given for his summoning, and many witnesses in his cause, before a close committee for inquisition, who yet should have power to make fast his person if they should find cause. Upon the report hereof, he went to the way, and has not yet appeared. The first and only great business the state has yet meddled with, is a taxation for a loan to the parliament of England, of 800,000 pounds Scots to our army in Ireland, which in this dangerous time we took for our best defence under God. For the sum and the end all did agree; but about the way of levy, there has been great contests. In all bygone times, our west country hath been much oppressed in taxations. Their lands are so high retoured, that a forty-merk land with us, will not pay so much rent as a two-merk land elsewhere; by which means it comes, that some five or six poor shires in the west, as Air, Galloway, Clydesdale, Lennox, Renfrew, will pay more taxation than all Scotland besides. This oft has been complained upon, but never remedied; only, in our late troubles, with much ado, the common burdens were laid on, not according to the retour or merkland, but the valuation of the rents: the like was pressed now by the west country, but peremptorily refused by the rest; hence the debate. Yet I hear it is accommodated, and some reason is like to be done to the west.

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But what we shall say to the main errand of our meeting? We are in great perplexity. We certainly expected, that the parliament of England, understanding perfectly of the calling of our estates so long before, and that the custom of our nation, was not to make stay at our meetings, that they without fail would have had commissioners from both houses, waiting on at or before, or at least at the day of our meeting, the 22d of June. Yet all the fourteen days thereafter I was in town, there was no word of them. All did much admire, that not so much as one excuse was made of this so great neglect. Some conjectured one cause, some another. Some thought them so overwhelmed with plots and dangers, that they were amused. London's plot, authorised by the great seal, was of farther reach than yet they understood; Hurry's defection had cost their stoutest Captain Mr Hambden his life; the pitiful routing of Fairfax's army, and thereby losing what remained to them in Yorkshire; the shameful pultrony of both the Hotham's in good time discovered; my Lord Toft's commission from Oxford, allowed by the council at Dublin, to procure a cessation of arms in Ireland, that from both Irish and English there might come over an army to England: all these at once falling on their army, made it not marvellous that their thoughts were troubled. Yet the most thought the greatest cause of their irresolution to flow from their division. The House of Lords was said to be opposite to the Commons conclusion of craving our help. Their fear, if they began to employ strangers, that thereby the King would be excused to fetch in Irish, French, and Danes; their foresight of impossibility to get our army maintained; and most of all the constancy of the most of them to do the Queen better service at London than they had been able either at Oxford or York, made them peremptorily resolve to send no commissioners to us at all. However, our improvidence was great; for I can assure, that all that fourteen days we had no intelligence at all what was doing in England, neither thought of any certain way how better information might be gotten thereafter.

It had been a pity matters had been so carried; for I saw, in all our nation, at that time, a very great good-will to the parliament's cause. The plot of Antrim had wakened in all a great fear of our own safety, and distrust of all the fair words that were or could be given us. But this unexpected neglect of the parliament has made other

thoughts begin to arise in the hearts of many ; yet what the event shall be, I know not. Our states are waiting on, and beguiling the time with Traquair, Carnwath, and the five Lords process, with the matter of the taxation. The King's declaring the nullity of the parliament at London, and summoning the members of their parliament to meet at Oxford against July 1st, has made some better intelligence, they say, betwixt the houses. However, a lower-house man, one Corbet, is come at last, with some word to us. What it is, and what it works, you shall hear hereafter.

A Postscript.

I hear now, that Mr Corbet has been at our convention, also in the commission of our church. He shewed to both, his message was to excuse the delay of their commissioners coming, because of their business in discovering plots ; also to shew their calling of an assembly at our desire, to which they craved some of our divines to be sent, for whom he had a strong ship in readiness ; also to require Antrim to be delivered up to them who should be sent from the parliament to receive him ; likewise to desire us to look to our south border, and to give them assistance, according to the treaty, as they should have need. The matter of the sending of our divines, is referred to the approaching assembly. For our borders, or rather to hold our country quiet, there is appointed a levy of 600 foot and 200 horse ; for their maintenance there is added to the former loan 120,000 pound. Mr Corbet was quickly dispatched, and with him Squire Meldrum, with express instructions to stay no longer at London than ten days. Till his return, our states, it is like, will make no conclusion. The jealousy the English have of our nation, much beside all reason, is not well taken. Always the report of Fairfax's defeat had been a spur at last to that parliament, much, as is thought, against the stomachs of many, to send message on message to us, of their commissioners dispatch, my Lord Gray of Wark from the Lords, and two from the Commons. They are expected daily. They speak of two ministers also : Mr Marshall will be most welcome ; but if Mr Nye, the head of the Independents, be his fellow, we cannot take it well. It is thought that one of Meldrum's instructions, is to know what we may expect from them, as to conformity
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of church-government. If in this he bring no satisfaction to us quickly, it will be a great impediment to their affairs here. Their slowness in all their affairs is marvelous. What can be the cause that Essex has so long looked to the Cavaliers, all wonders. Some stand not to say, that it can be neither want of money nor men, which so oft has been plentifully supplied, but something else, that same which hindered him at Bramford to rout the King's army, when clearly it was in his power so to do. The parliament ever has been abused by very many of chiefest trust. The Queen's coming to the King, what it will work, we will hear. They speak of a victory of Waller's in the west, equivalent to Fairfax's overthrow in the north. I long now to hear from you. Shortly, God willing, you shall hear an account of our assembly, which the next week we must all attend.

36. To Mr William Spang. September 22. 1643.

A Journal of the General Assembly 1643.

Reverend and Dear Cousin,

— It is marvelled, that your Prince is pleased so long to do nothing, but once in a year to take a look on the enemy's country, and return without any attempt. But that which touches our heart to the quick, is the lamentable case of England. The great weakening of Essex's army by sickness and run-aways, left brave Waller to be overmastered and routed by the Cavaliers, so amused Bristol, that, either through treachery or cowardice, that great and most considerable city was delivered. This was a terrible stroke to the parliament, that Essex, with the relicks of his army, remain in and about the city. The country for the most seems to be abandoned. We know not what may hinder the King to come near. It seems that Manchester and Waller, with their new army of citizens, will fight, if the Cavaliers come to assault or beleaguer the city. Their mistrusts and slowness have undone them, if God work not wonders. The few Lords that made their upper house have been their wrack, when Northumberland and Sey have given them cause of jealousy in whom they could confide. For the present the parliament.

parliament-side is running down the brae. They would never, in earnest, call for help, till they were irrecoverable; now, when all is desperate, they cry aloud for help: and how willing we are to redeem them with our lives, you shall hear.

August 1st. Being advertised by my Lord Wariston to be in town some time before the synod, for advisements, Mr David Dick and I came in on Tuesday August 1st; where some few of us meeting in Wariston's chamber, advised whom to have on committees for bills, reports, and other things. Our greatest consultation was for the moderator. We foresaw great business was in hand: strangers were to be present: minds of many brethren were exasperated. Mr Henderson was the only man meet for the time: yet it was small credit to us, who so oft were necessitated to employ one man: besides, the moderation would divert him from penning such writs as seemed he behoved to pen before the assembly rose. We were inclined, therefore, that Mr R. Blair should moderate; but by God's good providence, both to him and to us, he being visited with a flux and gravel, was not able for some days to come from St Andrew's: therefore necessity drove us to resolve on Mr Alexander; so much the more, as we found that very day his Majesty's commission was unexpectedly thrust on the Advocate. It seems the commission from Oxford hath come to the Secretary Lanerk, blank, to be filled with whose name he and some others thought expedient. Sometimes Lindsay, sometimes Glencairn, were spoken of; but both finding the impossibility to execute the instructions to the King and country's good liking, refused the charge; and put in, beside his knowledge, and contrary to his mind, the Advocate's name; of whom they had small care, whether he lost himself or not. The instructions were thought to be very hard; yet the Advocate did not execute, nor name any of them to count of; for he was so wise, and so well dealt with by his two sons, that he resolved to say nothing to the church or country's prejudice.

On Wednesday, August 2d, was a solemn fast for the members of the assembly. Mr Douglas preached before noon, and Mr Henderson after, both very satisfactorily. That same day we had our first session, in a little room off the east church, which is very handsomely dressed for our assemblies in all time coming when we shall have them there.

there. The commissions were given in : some small burghs had none : far-off presbyteries had but one. His Majesty's commission was read in the ordinary tenor. Our clerk made the ordinary exception against the clause of the assembly's translation with the Commissioner's advice. His Grace offered to get that clause so qualified as hereafter the commission might pass without exception. This at divers times he offered ; but want of leisure, or something else, hindered the performance. As the custom is, the moderator gave the leet of one whom he intended, and other three, Mr William Jamison, Mr Robert Murray, and me, whom he knew would not come in balance with Mr Henderson. When we were removed, much din was made for addition to the leet ; for divers who knew not the secret, and considered not the necessity of the times, intended to have had Mr James Bonner, or Mr David Lindsay, moderator ; neither whereof had been meet. To prevent their design, the leet was framed as you hear ; and when they pressed addition, it was voiced, and carried, that notwithstanding of the assembly's liberty to add, yet at that time it was not expedient to make any addition so unanimously, Mr Henderson was declared moderator. The King's letter to the assembly was read. The matter was very fair ; remembering us of our obligations to him, in conscience, and for the great benefits we had received ; and exhorting us to the study of peace ; but the inscription was most strange and base, " To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, and the rest convened with him in the general assembly," or such words. Notwithstanding, his Grace shewed us, that he had warrant to declare, in his Majesty's name, that beside all the benefits already granted, he was willing to do all further what the assembly conceived necessary for the benefit of religion. Argyle desired that this might be put in writ : but presently his Grace began to eat it in ; yet promised to give in to-morrow, under his hand : but when it came, it was clogged with prejudicial limitations, that we requested it might be taken back, and no more memory to be of any such offer. There were a great number of noblemen members of the assembly, the Chancellor for Irvine ; yet being debated in council, that the Chancellor behoved to carry the purse with the commission, where-ever he appeared with the Great Commissioner, he thought it not expedient to

to accept the commission; wherefore Eglinton was put in the commission of Irvine, by the commissioners of the presbytery there present. None of the noblemen attended the Commissioner: at once the great commission will become vile. They sat at our table constantly before noon; for afternoon they behoved to keep with the states, Argyle, Sutherland, Marischal, Eglinton, Castles, Lauderdale, Dumfermling, Dalhousie, Buccleugh, Queensberry, Didup, Angus, Balmerino, Maitland, Coupar, Lindsay, Balcarras, Sinclair, Elcho, and others.

Thursday, August 3d, a commission was received from the presbytery of the Irish army. A committee was appointed to cognosce and report, anent the manifold and most weighty proceedings of the commissioners from the last assembly; another for bills; a third for reports and appeals; a fourth for examination of the provincial synod books: all which were produced, and esteemed one of the chiefest and most proper tasks of the general assembly. All the active spirits, and most considerable men, were distribute among these committees. I had still the favour to be in the privy committee of the moderator's assessors, with Mr Robert Douglas, Mr D. Dickson, Mr S. Rutherford, Mr Gillespie, who albeit not a commissioner, yet I found always much respected by Mr Henderson; but Mr A. Ramsay, and the rest, Mr J. Adamson, Mr W. Colvil, Mr J. Sharp, mis kent: for myself, I did keep, in this assembly, and the former, silence, so far as I might, both in private and publick; for the longer I live, bold and pert loquacity I like it the worse. The visitation of the university of St Andrew's was reported; but the work not being perfected, it was continued. Much time spent in disputation, if the parliament's commission should not be enervated by any addition to their commissioners. Always Argyle undertook, the convention of estates and parliament would well allow of any the assembly should add, to get a ready quorum: of purpose time was spent; for we did greatly long for the English commissioners, of whose coming we were well near out of hope, many thinking their stay to be from the Lords denying them a commission, and some from their policy, to make us do, of our own selves, without their desire, what they would be at. All bills were ordained to be given in against Wednesday next. A regret from the north, that there was no execution of laws

against excommunicate Papists, was referred to the convention of estates. There were four appointed to nominate preachers during the assembly. It was their good luck to employ few of the best, the most able not being the most ready.

Friday the 4th, much was spoken for the apprehension of excommunicate Papists. The act of parliament provides it to be on the King's charges. A committee was appointed to try the disobedience of Auchterarder presbytery: upon Mr John Hume's refusal to be one, as being party, because one of the commission who was wronged, it was debated and resolved, that since the commission might have themselves censured all the disobedients, none of them might be counted parties. We had an idle and needless question that day resolved. In the time of my absence, Mr D. Dickson and I were chosen commissioners from the presbytery of Glasgow to the general assembly; so it was like to fall on the principal for the university. Divers bygone years he had avowed, and half protested, that the presbytery should not have power to chuse any member of the university. By this means he was assured never to go commissioner but from the university, and so never on his own charges. This we envied not; but we saw the consequent was, that Mr D. Dickson and I, while we lived, should never more be members of the general assembly but by his good pleasure; which we took for an intolerable incroaching on our ministerial liberties. Of this design we were so much the more confirmed, as, in the next college-meeting, he caused elect me commissioner for the university, miskenning the prior election of the presbytery as null. While I peremptorily refused the university's commission, and did in private deal he might be pleased either to take it himself, or permit it to fall on our vice-chancellor Mr Zachary, both he refused, and resolved upon a course which was the greatest despite he was able to do us in a matter of that kind. Mr David being long grieved, that, by the backwardness of the principal, and others, he could not get his office of dean of faculty execute as he desired, did peremptorily, once or twice, lay down that charge: yet all requested him to keep it, and would chuse no other. Mr R. Ramsay and I, foreseeing the appearance of Mr Edward's putting in that place, if he continued in his wilfulness, had moved him to be content to continue for one year. This much in effect we

made him signify in the university-meeting. For all this, such was the principal's pleasure, that he will have a new dean of faculty chosen; and, passing by Mr R. R. gets Mr Edward Wright elected, first dean of faculty, then commissioner. This I took for a despiteful affront; and so avowed, that by a new visitation we would essay to have our university otherwise ruled; for we thought strange, that the principal, at thir times, should essay to have places filled with men who notoriously were not only at his own devotion, such as vice-chancellor and dean of faculty, but also otherwise minded in the publick affairs than we did wish; such as, the Marquis of Hamilton, Chancellor; the Commissar, Rector; and his three assessors, Mr John Hay, Mr W. Wilkie, Mr G. Forsyth; three regents; Mr D. Monro, Mr D. Forsyth, Mr W. Semple, master of the grammar; all of his own creation, to be employed for any thing he pleased. We did storm at this, and I most. Easily we might help all these: but I dare not essay it; for it would be fundry of their undoing, from which my mind in cold blood does abhor on any, but especially on these men, my dear friends, and otherwise some of them well deserving of their places. So, as before I did truly, by myself and others, at the assembly at Glasgow, see to Dr Strang's safety, when his place was in great hazard by his great provocations, the subscribing the petition against ruling elders, ending in a real protestation; the subscribing of the covenant, with very dangerous limitations; the deserting of the assembly itself, after some days sitting as commissioner; All these three being imputed to him as the only author, did create much wrath in our nobles against him, which yet is not forgot. My fears, that the least complaint against him would bring on him a censure which I would not be able to moderate, forced me to be quiet; only I made the moderator propone in general, whether university-men might be chosen commissioners by presbyteries? This being affirmed by all, put his needless quarrel out of question. Also I got the commission for visitation renewed with such men as I thought fittest. This I intend for a wand to threat, but to strike no man, if they will be pleased to live in any peaceable quietness, as it fears me, their disaffection to the country's cause will not permit some of them to do.

Saturday, the 5th, your business came in. I confess we
needed

needed not, neither Mr G. Gillespie nor I, solicit any in it; the moderator was of himself so careful of it, both for his regard to you, and the matter itself; as also to take that occasion by the top to banish altogether church-burial from among us, as well of noble as ignoble persons. This day your letter and informations were read, but delayed to be considered for divers days thereafter; always at last unanimously you had all you desired clearly determined.

Upon the regret of the extraordinary multiplying of witches, above thirty being burnt in Fife in a few months, a committee was appointed to think on that sin, the way to search and cure it. The Scots of Ireland did petition for supply of ministers, and were well heard. Sir John Scot's bill, for pressing presbyteries to describe their own bounds, was not so much regarded.

Sunday, the 6th, Mr David Dick preached well, as always, in the New church before noon, but little of the present affairs; for as yet men knew not what to say, the English commissioners not being yet come.

But on Monday, the 7th, after we were ashamed with waiting, at last they landed at Leith. The Lords went, and conveyed them up in coach. We were exhorted to be more grave than ordinary; and so indeed all was carried to the end with much more awe and gravity than usual. Mr Henderson did moderate with some little austere severity, as it was necessary, and became his person well. That day, one Abercrombie being delate of clear murder, was ordained to be excommunicate summarily. He had been in process for adultery. The presbytery of Garioch, for fear of the man, had been too slack in it; so the man killed, in a drunken plea, his wife's son, who had married his own daughter. The synod of Aberdeen was directed to censure the presbytery of Garioch for their unhappy slackness, and the moderator of the presbytery was ordained, immediately on his departure from the assembly, to go to the murderer's parish-church, and without any citation, or any delay, the fact being notour, and the person fugitate, to excommunicate him, and to cause intimate the censure the Sabbath following in all the churches of the presbytery, not to be relaxed till he gave satisfaction also for the slander of adultery.

Tuesday 8th, Wednesday 9th, and Thursday 10th, the moderator shewed, that two of the English ministers had

been at him, requiring to know the most convenient way of their commissioners address to the synod. It was thought meet to send some of our number, ministers and elders, to salute and welcome them. Mr R. Douglas, Mr G. Gillespie, my Lord Maitland, and I, were named; therefore we resolved, their own order of address whereby they admitted our commissioners to their parliament, should be fittest; that their access to the assembly, as private spectators, should be when they would; for which end a place, commodious, above in a gallery, was appointed for them; but as commissioners, their access should not be immediately to the assembly, but to some deputed to wait on them, who should report from them to the assembly, and from it to them, what was needful. So to us four were joined other four, with the moderator, Mr D. Dickson, Mr S. Rutherford, my Lord Angus, and Wariston, a committee of nine. The convention of estates used the same way of communication with them, naming for a committee, Lindsay, Balmerino, Wariston, Humbie, Sir John Smith, Mr Robert Barclay. When we met, four gentlemen appeared, Sir William Armin, Sir Henry Vane younger, one of the gravest and ablest of that nation, Mr Hatcher, and Mr Darley, with two ministers, Mr Marshall and Mr Nye. They presented to us a paper-introduction, drawn by Mr Marshall, a notable man, and Sir Harry, the drawers of all their writs; also their commission from both Houses of Parliament, giving very ample power to the Earl of Rutland, Lord Gray, and these four, to treat with us, and to the two ministers, to assist in all ecclesiastick affairs, according to their instructions given or to be given, or to any four of them; also they presented a declaration of both houses to our general assembly, shewing their care of reforming religion, their desire of some from our assembly to join with their divines for that end, and withal our assembly's dealing, according to their place, for help from our state to them; likewise a letter from their assembly to them, subscribed by their prolocutor Dr Twisse, and his two assessors, Mr Whyte and Dr Burges, shewing their permission from the parliament to write to us, and their invitation of some of us to come for their assistance; further, a letter, subscribed by above seventy of their divines, supplicating, in a most deplorable style, help from us in their present most desperate condition. All these pieces, I think, you shall have

have in print. Few words did pass among us. All these were presented by us to the assembly, and read openly. The letter of the private divines was so lamentable, that it drew tears from many. It was appointed, that the forenamed committee should make ready the answers for all, to be presented to the assembly with all convenient speed. Above all, diligence was urged; for the report was going already of the loss of Bristol, from which they feared his Majesty might march for London, and carry it. For all this, we were not willing to precipitate a business of such consequence. Our state had sent up Mr Meldrum; we expected him daily, with certain information, as indeed he came within a few days; and then we made all the haste we might. There was in the moderator's chamber a meeting sundry times of the prime nobles, and some others, where I oftentimes was present. I found, however, all thought it necessary to assist the English; yet of the way there was much difference of opinions. One night all were bent to go as ridders, and friends to both, without siding altogether with the parliament. This was made so plausible, that my mind was with the rest for it; but Wariston his alone shewed the vanity of that motion, and the impossibility of it. In our committees also we had hard enough debates. The English were for a civil league, we for a religious covenant. When they were brought to us in this, and Mr Henderson had given them a draught of a covenant, we were not like to agree on the frame; they were, more than we could assent to, for keeping of a door open in England to Independency. Against this we were peremptor. At last some two or three in private accorded to that draught, which all our three committees, from our states, from our assembly, and the parliament of England, did unanimously assent to. From that meeting it came immediately to our assembly; in the which, at the first reading, being well prefaced with Mr Henderson's most grave oration, it was received with the greatest applause that ever I saw any thing, with so hearty affections, expressed in the tears of pity and joy by very many grave, wise, and old men. It was read distinctly the second time by the moderator. The minds of the most part was speired, both of ministers and elders; where, in a long hour's space, every man, as he was by the moderator named, did express his sense as he was able. After all con-
siderable

considerable men were heard, the catalogue was read, and all unanimously did assent. In the afternoon, with the same cordial unanimity, it did pass the convention of estates. This seems to be a new period and crisis of the most great affair which these hundred years has exercised their dominions. What shall follow from this new principle, you shall hear as time shall discover.

The committee for revising the acts of the commissioners of the last assembly, took up the most of Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, with their report. All was approved; Maitland for his happy diligence thanked; so likewise Argyle, and Birkenbog, for their apprehending of two priests. Every presbytery, university, and parish, were ordained to get a covenant, to be subscribed by all their members. We were fashed with two questions. My Lord Balvaird had deserted his ministry, and came to the convention of estates to voice as a Lord. A minister in the south had purchased a lairdship, and, as a laird, had come to the meeting of the shire, and voiced for chusing a commissioner to the convention. Both of them were furtherers of the Balvaird way. After much reasoning, we determined, that both did wrong; that Lord Balvaird should keep his ministry, and give over voicing in parliament, under pain of deposition, and further censure; that the other should no more sit nor voice in any court. A thorny business came in, which the moderator, by great wisdom, got cannily convoyed. The brethren of Stirling and Perth had made great outcries, that the commission had authorised the clerk, in printing the assembly-acts, to omit two acts of Aberdeen, one anent the Sabbath, another about novations. In both these satisfaction was given: That our bounding the Sabbath from midnight to midnight might offend some neighbouring kirks: As for the other act, about novations, it was expressed also clearly in the printed acts of the posterior assembly, to be made use of by all who had occasion. These things were so well delivered, that all were quieted. Mr Harry Guthrie made no din. His letter was a wand above his head to discipline him, if he should mute. The presbytery of Auchterarder was under the rod, to be made an example to all who would be turbulent. After long examination of their business, at last they were laureat. Some two or three of that presbytery, when many of the gentry who were not elders, were permitted to sit among them, and reason

reason against the warning and declaration; and when Ardoch presented reasons in writ against these pieces; yet they who were proven to have been forward for the present reading of these pieces, were commended. Others who, notwithstanding of the presbytery's conclusion, of not reading, yet did read, were for voicing the continuation gently rebuked. Others who at last caused read parts of them, and Mr James Row, who caused read them before himself came in, were sharply rebuked, and their names delate from among the members of this assembly. Mr John Graham, who now the second time had spoken scandalous speeches of the commission, was made to confess his fault in face of the assembly on his knees, and suspended till the next provincial. Ardoch, an old reverend gentlemen, for his former zeal, was spared; only was urged upon oath to reveal the persons from whom he had the reasons contrare to the warning. Mr Harry Guthrie of Angus, a suspected person, for not by name expressing of the malignants in a sermon at the provincial, was made on his knees to crave pardon, and promise amendment. Mr Andrew Logie, who lately had been reposed to his ministry, being cited to answer many slanderous speeches in pulpit, not compearing, but by an idle letter to the moderator, was deposed, without return to that church for ever. Dr Forbes, whose sentence of deposition at Aberdeen I had got to be suspended till the presbytery of Edinburgh had essayed to gain him to our covenant; they, when they found no hope, pronounced the sentence. This he thought unjust, and moved in the provincial of Aberdeen, that they would try in this assembly if he might be permitted to bruik his place, though he could not subscribe our covenant. It was determined his deposition was valid from the beginning, and that he, and all other, should either subscribe, or be farther processed. It was complained, that Huntly received sundry excommunicated Papists in his service; that he had no worship in his family; that these seventeen years he had not communicate, but once with the excommunicate Bishop of Aberdeen. Of these he was ordained to be admonished by his presbytery. Hereof he was quickly advertised; so that, ere we arose, he sent to us, under the hand of some neighbour-ministers, a testification of his good carriage. But the former information being verified, the attesting ministers were ordained to be rebuked. Sir John Seaton of Barns, after

after a fair excuse of his Irish oath, was ordained to be conferred with for subscribing our covenant within a certain time; and upon his disobedience, to be proceſſed, and have his daughter removed. Mr Robert Dogliesh was elected church-treasurer, for the deburſing of the L. 500 Sterling as the commiſſioners of the church ſhould appoint. The commiſſioners who went to Ireland were thanked; Mr Jo. Maclelland, for not going, called to answer: his health excuſed him. The ſame reaſon excuſed the viſitors of Orkney for their omiſſion. Others were appointed to go this year to both places.

Friday was the firſt day of the Engliſh appearing in our aſſembly. Your affair ſpent the moſt of that day. For the general, fundry noblemen, eſpecially Eglinton, were not content to be excluded from the burial of their fathers in the church; yet their reſpect to the preſence of ſtrangers, and Argyle's ſhewing his burying of his father in the church-yard, and offering himſelf to be laid any where when he was dead, rather than to trouble the church when he was living, made them in ſilence let the act go againſt them. Much din was for the erecting a new preſbytery at Biggar. The conveniency, to eaſe ſome twelve or thirteen churches at Lanerk and Peebles, with the leaving of moe than thirteen to every one of the old preſbytery-ſeats, did carry it; but becauſe of my Lord Fleming's ſmall affection to the common cauſe, the execution of this decree was appointed to be ſuſpended during the aſſembly's pleaſure.

Sunday I was obliged to preach before noon in the New church. I had prevailed with the committee to put me in another place, for I much miſliked to be heard there; but the moderator with his own hand did place me there, ſo there was no remeid; for who ſpoke againſt concluſions, got uſually ſo ſickerly on the fingers, that they had better been ſilent. God helped me graciouſly on Pfalm 51. "Do good in thy good pleaſure to Zion, build up the walls of Jeruſalem." Many were better pleaſed than I wiſhed; for I am like to be troubled with the town of Edinburgh's too good liking, as ye will hear.

14th. Execution of the acts againſt excommunicate Papifts, and others, with whoſe eſtate no man would or durſt meddle, was recommended to the eſtates. Miniſters depoſed by general aſſemblies not to be reſtored by provincial ſynods or preſbyteries. Roger Lindſay, cited for blaſphemy,

my, and other faults, not compearing, ordained to be summarily excommunicate, and the states to be dealt with for farther punishment against him. Mr Fairlie's, late Bishop of Argyle, long plea decided. His scholar, my Lord Register, had presented him to Largo at the commissioners of the general assembly's desire. The people would not hear of him. The presbytery of St Andrew's joined with the people. They were not cited; so the assembly could not judge, but behoved to commit it to the presbytery. The man hath long been in extreme misery. He was sure his remitting to the presbytery was the loss of the cause, and his assured loss of all churches in the land, for no appearance that any people would ever accept of him. Many tears shed he before us. Vehement was Durie for him; but there was no remeid; parishes and presbyteries might not be wronged. In all the assembly great care was had, not only that nothing should come *per saltum*, but all particulars decidable in presbyteries and provincials, should be remitted, with a reproof of them, for sending to the assembly these things which they themselves could more easily, and often better determine. We are like to be troubled with the question of patronages. William Rigg had procured a sharp petition to us from the whole commissioners of shires and burghs against the intrusion of ministers on parishes against their minds. Divers noblemen, patrons, took this ill. We knew not how to guide it; at last, because of the time, as all other things of great difficulty, we got it suppressed. Only when something about presentations came in publick, good Argyle desired us, in all our presbyteries, to advise on the best way of admitting of intrants, which the next general assembly might cognosce on, and conclude. He promised, many, and trusted all, patrons should acquiesce to the order. This pleased all.

15th. In our privy meetings we had many debates a-
 gent the troublesome evil of novations. All the noblemen, especially Lauderdale, were much displeased with the favourers of them; yet they were countenanced more by some than was pleasing to all. Mr John Livingston and Mr John Maclelland were put on the chief committees, and other employments. From the presbyteries of the synod of Glasgow, none of them were sent commissioners, by the providence of some there; yet most of them came to the town. Being called to the moderator's cham-

ber, Mr J. Maclelland, and Mr John Nevo, most did propone their reasons for their judgement. Mr S. Rutherford, and Mr D. Dick did answer. All heard with disdain. Mr J. Nevo's reasons were against the Lord's prayer. After an hour's jangling, we left it nothing better. I found many inclined, especially Mr S. R. though he professed it duty to answer satisfactorily all their arguments, for peace sake to pass from the use of the conclusion, and bowing in the pulpit, especially if we agree with England: however, we agreed to draw up some act, for satisfying in some measure all. Mr H. Guthrie, and the brethren in the north, were so overawed, that they were very quiet; and being sent for, professed their contentment, for the necessity of the time, to be content of any thing: but Mr G. Young, Mr John Bell, and others of the west, were not so soon satisfied; but threatened, on all hazards, to make much din, if something were not really done for marring the progress of that ill. Mr Henderson communicated to me the act he had drawn. I told him my dislike of some parts of it, as putting in too great an equality the novators and their opposites; also my opinion that the directory might serve for many good ends, but no ways for suppressing, but much increasing, the ill of novations. However, I assured I would make no din, but submit to him, who was much wiser than I. These my thoughts I would not communicate to others; so the brethren opposing most the novations being sent for, when they heard the act, were well pleased with it, whereof I was glad. This act did pass unanimously with all. Mr Henderson, Mr Calderwood, and Mr Dickson, were voiced to draw with diligence that directory, wherein I wish them much better success than I expect; yet in this I am comforted, that in none of our brethren who are taken with these conceits, appear as yet the least inclination to Independency; and in these their different practices they become less violent, and more modest. Mr Ja. Bonner had not got such satisfaction as need were. For his full contentment, he got a committee to sit at Ayr for the further trial and censure of all who had interest in that riot.

Wednesday, 16th, a report was made by the clerk of the committee for visiting the books of the provincial synods. It was found, that the books of Argyle and Orkney were most accurate and formal. Sundry questions were resolved. The order of visitation of churches, presbyteries, and

and provincial synods, drawn up by Mr Calderwood, were read. They were tediously long, but many of them very useful; so they were referred, to be revised against the next assembly, to these brethren who were appointed for the directory.

Thursday, the 17th, was our joyful day of passing the English covenant. The King's Commissioner made some opposition; and when it was so past, as I wrote before, gave in a writ, wherein he, as the King's Commissioner, (having prefaced his personal hearty consent), did assent to it, so far as concerned the religion and liberties of our church; but so far as it concerned the parliament of England, with whom his Majesty, for the present, was at odds, he did not assent to it. The moderator and Argyle did so always overawe his Grace, that he made us not great trouble.

Friday, the 18th, a committee of eight were appointed for London, whereof any three were a quorum. Mr Henderson, Mr Douglas, Rutherford, Gillespie, I, Maitland, Cassils, Wariston. The magistrates of Edinburgh obtained a warrant to the commissioners of the general assembly, to plant their churches with three, dispensing with the overture of the last assembly anent the order of transportation, that they should not need to appear before presbyteries and synods, but at this time the commission should have power quickly to plant them. This dispensation with the act only of order, they intend to make a catholick dispensation with all acts of all assemblies, as if a free patent were given to take any they will in all the land. So they have elected Mr Ja. Hamilton in Dumfries, of whom they have got two *Nolumus* already from the general assembly; Mr Jo. Oswald of Aberdeen, who with so great difficulty was gotten north, and me. By my pithy and affectionate letters to Argyle, Wariston, and their bailies, I have got a supersedere from their present summons, and hopes to be made free of their cumber; else I will appeal to the assembly, for in truth my greatest end in coming to Glasgow was to flee their hands.

19th. Our last session was on Saturday. A number of particulars that day passed. Mr Ja. Houston, a pious and very zealous young man, minister at Glasford, in the time of his trials, and after his admission, had fallen in fornication, for which he was deposed by the presbytery of Hamilton; but being called to serve one of the

Irish regiments, was permitted to preach by the presbytery of Paisly. Whereupon his old parishioners very instantly did suit his return to them; while the presbytery of Hamilton refuses, the parish supplicates the synod; where many being his friends, especially Mr R. Ramsay, and Mr D. D. he is ordained to be reposed in his old place. The presbytery appealed. The general assembly found it *bene appellatum*, and reprov'd the synod. The great affront fell on Mr David; for in the synod I had voiced with the presbytery. However, I did my best to keep it from further hearing; but could not prevail. This day our answers to the King's letter, to the parliament of England's declaration, by Mr Henderson; to the assembly of divines, by Mr Blair; to the private letter of corresponding divines, by Mr David Dickson, were publickly read, and approv'd, albeit in our privy meeting reviv'd. An ample commission was drawn to a number of the ablest in the whole land, whereof twelve ministers and three elders made a quorum. The parliament meeting in Edinburgh the first Tuesday of June, the next assembly was appointed to hold in that same place the last Wednesday of May. The moderator ended with a gracious speech, and sweet prayer. In no assembly was the grace of God more evident from the beginning to the end than here; all departed fully satisfied.

20th. On the Sabbath, before noon, in the New Church, we heard Mr Marshall preach with great contentment. But in the afternoon, in the Grayfriars, Mr Nye did not please. His voice was clamorous: he touch'd neither in prayer nor preaching the common business. He read much out of his paper book. All his sermon was on the common head of a spiritual life, wherein he ran out above all our understandings, upon a knowledge of God as God, without the scriptures, without grace, without Christ. They say he amended it somewhat the next Sabbath.

21st. On Monday the commission did sit on fundry particulars. But on Tuesday the only errand it had was to appoint me to go presently to London. Of this I understood nothing at all; for our quorum being three, Mr Alexander and my Lord Maitland were undoubtedly two, and the diet of going being on Saturday following, no man could dream they would be so unreasonable as to command me, without visiting my family, and putting my

my small affairs to some order, so suddenly to go so far a voyage, having Mr G. Gillespie, who from his own door might put his foot in the ship when he pleased: notwithstanding, in a meeting of the nobles and others, on the Monday, from which I had foolishly absented myself, it was concluded I should go, and that a commission should sit to-morrow for that end. Of this I got a little inkling on Tuesday morning; but not believing it, I was not so earnest, as otherwise I might have been, in soliciting, till near nine o'clock, when I found the conclusion was real: so I did what I could with so many of the commission I got betwixt and ten, to deprecate my so sudden departure; but being desperate of my prevailing, my best friends shewing me the necessity, I committed the matter to God, with a humble submission. Never, to my sense, did I find so clear a providence about me. I offered, in a ten days, to follow in the next ship; but this would have broken the quorum, and made the other two's journey unprofitable till I came. When it came to voicing, Mr Henderson and Maitland being unanimously chosen, the voices ran just equal, some twenty for me, and as many for Mr George. I then desired a delay till the afternoon, when the commission might be more full. This was refused: so it was voiced over again, and again we were equal. Then it was referred to the moderator's choice; who, on his knowledge of my vehement desire and state of my family, named Mr George, for which I blessed God in my heart; but he had not well spoken till Liberton came in, who, if he had come before the word, would have cast the balance for me. But being freed of that great trouble, incontinent I was like to fall in another. Edinburgh put in, that in time of our college-vacance, I should be nominated to stay and supply them. Argyle, who was chief for my going to London, having burnt me before, would then blow me. He reasoned stoutly for my going to Glasgow; yet it was determined that in the time of the vacance, Mr S. Rutherford, Mr D Dickson, and I, by turns, should be there; but finding it their aim to entangle me, I have not been there, nor minds to know them.

After my departure, with joy for my liberation unexpected from a troublesome if not a dangerous voyage; for besides the sea, it was feared the King should get London before they could be there; things, praised be God,
went

went better. The convention of estates emitted a proclamation, containing the heads of the covenant, and commanding all within sixty and sixteen, to be in readiness in full arms, with forty days provision, to march to the rendezvous that the convention or their committees should appoint. This was the first alarm. The English commissioners made promise to secure our coast with their shipping, and providing for our levy, and three months pay, L. 100,000 Sterling, also L. 6000 to the Irish army. The year, through their default, was far spent, and little possibility there was for us to arm so late. The corns behoved to be first cut: and in this God has been very gracious: never a better crop, nor more early with us. The beginning of October is like to end our harvest. Also we could not stir till England did accept and enter in the covenant, and send down money. For the hastening of these, the great ship, with our three commissioners, Mr Meldrum, and two of the English, Mr Hatcher and Nye, made sail on Wednesday, the 30th day, the wind made no sooner; but some eight days before, the English had dispatched a ketch, with a double of our covenant, which, when it came, was so well liked at London, that Friday the 1st of September, being sent to the assembly of divines, it was there allowed by all, only D. Burges's did doubt for one night. On Saturday it passed the House of Commons, on Monday the House of Peers. It seems to have been much facilitate by the flight of these Lords, who all this time were opposing to their power their junction with us, and all what might further their cause. After the taking of Bristol, they grew more bold; and however they could not get the sending of commissioners to us hindered, yet when they were gone, they put on foot a new treaty of peace with the King. This proposition past the House of Peers and Commons both; but the leading men made such a noise in the city, that the Mayor, on the Monday, with the best of the city-council, offered a very sharp petition to the contrary, which made, albeit with great difficulty, that conclusion be renversed till they heard some answer from us. To remeid this, the malignants stirred a multitude of women of the meaner and more infamous rank, to come to the door of both houses, and cry tumultuously for peace on any terms. This tumult could not be suppressed but by violence, and killing some three or four women,

women, and hurting more of them, and imprisoning many. Hereupon the underdealing of some being palpable, before it brake out fully they stole away; Holland, Bedford, Clare, Conway, Portland, Lovelace, and, as they say, Salisbury and Northumberland. Some deny these two. Good had it been for the parliament these had been gone long before. However, they were very well away at this time; for their absence was a great further to the passing of our covenant in a legal way. There was, for a time, horrible fears and confusions in the city; the King every where being victorious. In the parliament and city a strong and insolent party for him. Essex much suspected, at least of non-fiance and misfortune; his army, through sickness and runaways, brought to 4000 or 5000 men, and these much malecontented that their general and they should be misprised, and Waller immediately prized. He had lost his whole army, and occasioned the loss of Bristol. Surely it was a great act of faith in God, huge courage, and unheard-of compassion, that moved our nation to hazard their own peace, and venture their lives and all, for to save a people so irrecoverably ruined both in their own and the world's eyes. Yet we trust the Lord of heaven will give success to our honest intentions: as yet all goes right. The city hath taken good order with itself. Beside the prisons on land, the most tumultuous they have sent out in two ships, to lie for a while at Gravesend. The King, thinking, at the first summons, to get Gloucester, and being refused, in a divine providence was engaged to lie down before it; where the unexpected courage, conduct, and success of the besieged, has much weakened the King's army, and hath so encouraged the parliament, that Essex, well refreshed and recruited, is marched with 12,000 foot and 2000 or 4000 horse towards Gloucester. It seems unavoidable, but they must fight ere he return. From our commissioners yet we have heard nothing. We expect this 22d for Meldrum from them. Upon the certainty of that covenant's subscription by any considerable party there, and the provision of some money, we mind to turn us to God, by fasting and prayer, and to levy 22,000 foot and 4000 horse. General Lesly is chosen, and accepted his old charge. It is true he past many promises to the King, that he would no more fight in his contrare; but, as he declares, it was with the expresse and necessary condition,

tion, that religion and the country's right were not in hazard; as all indifferent men think now they are in a very evident one. As yet Almond is come no further than to serve for putting the country in arms for defence at home; so the lieutenant-general's place is not as yet filled. Baillie also is much dependent on Hamilton, who as yet is somewhat ambiguous, suspected of all, loved of none; but it is like he will be quiet. Dear Sandie, brother to the Earl of Haddington, hath accepted the general of artillery's place. Humble is general commissary. Many of our nobles are crowners for shires. Mr Walden hath seized on Berwick for the parliament, whereupon Crowner Gray makes prey of the town's cattle, and Newcastle is sending down men and cannon to besiege it. Therefore our committee of estates dispatched Sinclair, and his three troops of new-levied horse, and 600 foot, to assist the securing of it. So the play is begun: the good Lord give it a happy end. — We had much need of your prayers. The Lord be with you.

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

37. *To Mr William Spang. November 17. 1643.*

Reverend and Beloved Cousin,

I hope long ere now you received my long one, September 22d. What since has passed you shall here have account. Our commissioners came safe to London, were welcomed in the assembly by three harangues from D. Twisse, Mr Case, and D. Hoile. Before their coming, the covenant had passed, with some little alteration. This they took in evil part, that any letter should be changed without our advice; but having a committee from both houses, and the assembly, of the most able and best-affected men, appointed to deal with them in that and all other affairs, we shortly were satisfied, finding all the alterations to be for the better. Being all agreed, as the assembly and House of Commons did swear and subscribe that covenant, the little House of Lords did delay, for sake of honour, as they said, till they found our nation willing to swear it as then it was formed. In this we gave great satisfaction; for so soon as Mr Henderson's letters came to Mr R. Douglas, he convened the commissioners,

missioners of the church, and the Chancellor, and the commissioners of the estate, who, after a day's deliberation, did heartily approve the alterations, as not materially differing from the form read in the assembly. So on Friday, in the New church, after a pertinent sermon of Mr Robert Douglas, the commissioners of state at one table, the commissioners of the church at another, the commissioners from the parliament and assembly of England at a third, did solemnly swear and subscribe, with great joy, and many tears. Some eighteen of our Lords were present that day; and copies were dispatched to the moderators of all our presbyteries, to cause read and expone that covenant the first Sunday after their receipt, and the Sunday following to cause swear it by men and women, and all of understanding, in every church of our land, and subscribe by the hand of all men who could write, and by the clerk of session in name of those that could not write, with certification of the church-censures, and confiscation of goods, presently to be inflicted on all refusers. With a marvellous unanimity was this every where received. A great many averse among us from this course, who bitterly spoke against our way every where, and none more than some of our friends; yet in God's great mercy all that yet I have heard of have taken this oath. Sundry things did much contribute to the running of it. It was drawn with such circumspection, that little scruple from any airth could be to any equitable. For the matter, the authority of a general assembly and convention of estates were great; the penalties set down in print before the covenant, and read with it, were great; the chief aim of it was for the propagation of our church-discipline in England and Ireland; the great good and honour of our nation; also the parliament's advantage at Gloucester and Newburry, but most of all the Irish cessation, made the minds of our people embrace that mean of safety: for when it was seen in print from Dublin, that in July his Majesty had sent a commission to Ormond, the judges, and committee there, to treat with these miscreants; that the dissenting commissioners were cast in prison; that the agreement was proclaimed, accepting the sum of L. 300,000 Sterling from these idolatrous butchers, and giving them, over the name of Roman-Catholick subjects now in arms, a sure peace for a year, with full power to bring in what men, arms, money they could from all the world, and to

exterminate all who should not agree to that proclamation, we thought it clear that the Popish party was so far countenanced, as it was necessary for all Protestants to join more strictly for their safety; and that so much the more, as ambassadors from France were come both to England and us, with open threats of hostility from that crown. Our land now, I hope, in a happy time, hath entered, with fastings and prayer, in a league with England, without any opposition. His Majesty lets us alone; partly his distractions elsewhere, and most, as we think, his experience how bitter proclamations did more than calm us, only a letter came from him to the council, marvelling that in his name they had proclaimed an injunction for all to arm, and had entered in a covenant with his enemies, without his advice. An answer was returned in justification of both these actions. Hamilton, Roxburgh, Traquair, and others, had been advising what to do, as yet hitherto they have had no din, and we trust they shall not be able to make any party. However, we have laid in Stirling, for all accidents, some three troop of horse. All the shires are put under their crowners, captains, and commanders of war; but no men as yet are levied. The English are more unhappy oft in their delays. Meldrum was sent up with some articles to their parliament, agreed upon with their commissioners here; but he is not yet returned. We know the best of the English have very ill will to employ our aid, and the smallest hopes they got of subsisting by themselves, makes them less fond of us. The march of Essex to Gloucester; his raising of that siege; his return to London, with some vantage at Newburry; Manchester's taking of Lynn; his clearing of Lincolnshire, with some prosperous skirmishes there; Newcastle's repulse from Hull, puts them in new thoughts; also their bygone great expences of money, and the great charge which Essex, Waller, Manchester, Warwick, Fairfax, puts them to daily, makes it hard for them to get such sums of money as are needful for raising of our army; and most of all, as is surmised, the underhand dealing of some yet in their parliament, who have no will, that by our coming in, that business should be ended, lest their reign should too soon end. However, by lets open and secret, that help which we were very willing to have given, is not like in haste to be made need of; only Meldrum writes, that from twenty-eight parishes
of

of London, there is got now some L. 30,000, with which he is presently to come down. Mr Hatcher will follow with the rest that can be got. It is like, when any competent sum comes, that an army shall rise, and go towards Newcastle. There is lying some L. 100,000 worth of coals. It is hoped, albeit it be winter, and the town fortified, yet there cannot be great opposition; for Manchester and Fairfax, and the people of Lancashire, coming on the one side, we hope that our army, on the other, may come the better speed. The Irish cessation perplexes us. Our army there is very inconsiderable, some 8000 of hunger and cold-beaten soldiers, if ever were any, no duty at all has been done to them. The parliament's wants and negligence, and evil dealing of some, foolishly and most unjustly jealous of us, has well near starved these soldiers. If they run away, Ireland is lost; if they stay, they have all the English and Irish for enemies; yet if they had money, they would, with God's help, keep Ulster against all. For to advise on this, Sir Henry Vane and Mr Marshall are gone to London; so only Sir William Armine stays here. If the Scots were away, it is feared that all Ireland should be ready to go upon England at a call. At last the assembly of divines have permission to fall on the question of church-government. What here they will do, I cannot say. Mr Henderson's hopes are not great of their conformity to us, before our army be in England. However, they have called earnestly once and again for Mr Rutherford and me. The commission has convened, and sent for us. We are thus far in our way to go abroad, God willing, one of these days. The weather is uncertain, the way dangerous, pirates and shoals no scant; yet trusting on God, we must not stand on any hazard to serve God and our country. Write none to me till you hear from me where I am. The case of affairs is lamentable. Not the least appearance of peace. The anger of God burns like a fire, without relenting. Above 200,000 persons lost their lives by this war already. The hearts of both parties this day alike in courage. Besides bygone mischiefs, it is like the next spring, or before, a flood of strangers will rush in on England. Scots, Irish, French, Danes, and who not? There appears not any possible remeid, till God send the overture. How things go abroad, you will write to me more fully. Our negotiation at the court of France, it

seems is miscarried. Lothian, with nothing done, is returned. He would not be dissuaded from going to Oxford; where we hear he is laid up, to our grief and irritation. A little Monsieur, some agent with letters from the Queen, has offered to our council the renovation of that league, whereof Lothian was treating; but requires us not to covenant with the parliament of England, and to annul the acts of our general assembly against the Papists in our Scottish regiments in France, to cause set the Earl of Antrim free. He stomachs that he has not a quick answer. The man seems to be of a small account. He is delayed till Lothian come. The friendship of the French was never much worth to us, and now we regard it as little as ever. We shall do them no wrong; but if they will join against the Protestant cause, we must oppose them. A pity but your estates should regard more the safety of England, and of themselves, than hitherto they have done. We had a month ago a false alarm: it was probably informed, and certainly believed, that Prince Rupert was on our borders, with 20,000 horse and foot; that his cannon was at Morpeth; that our banders, then met at Kelso for the Lady Roxburgh's burial, were to join with him; that without impediment, they were to seize Edinburgh. Our council were at the point of putting up fire-beacons to call all the country to the border; yet some little time made us find it was but a mistake of some horse and foot of Colonel Gray's, to beware of our eruptions from Berwick. As yet no acts of hostility to count of, are past.

38. *To my Lord Wariston. Dec. 28. 1643.*

My Lord,

FOR news I can say no more than you have in the publick letter, and from other private hands. I cannot but second the earnest desire of all here for the upcoming of a committee from our estates. It is thought by all our friends, that if a well-chosen committee were here, they would get the guiding of all the affairs both of the state and church; and without it, the distractions and languishing and fainting of this diseased people will not be got cured. I doubt not but the high importance of the affair will make you quickly send up that committee; for the
danger

danger of the delay increases daily. Only by all means see, that you and others debate seriously upon the persons: you may send us up men who have designs for themselves, who may mar wholly the action. If you send but three, I think the case is clear: you love not yourself so well but I am confident ye will venture through seas and pirates, as I did, if you be sent; and in truth, when the church and state of England is to receive a new frame, and you called to put your hand to that huge, great, and honourable work, I see not, while you live, when you are like to do so much good as in this matter, if once you had put our army the length of Newcastle. None but Barclay for a burgess. But as you love the affair itself, see well to the choice of the nobleman. You know what woe and danger selfish men in the top of a commission may do. If here you make not a good choice, you shall have my malison. I put you in mind also, if it shall not be expedient, that with that committee Mr Blair shall not come up from our church. If you please, you can easily procure it. You may have need of him whiles to pour your griev'd mind in his bosom. I conceive he has a great dexterity in giving wholesome counsel in the multitude of the great affairs here in hand. There cannot be three more gracious and able men than Mess. Henderson, Gillespie, and Rutherford, and I prefer the very great sufficiency and happiness of good Maitland; yet I think we would be much the better of Mr Blair's company. You must not look to expences, when presently we are either to win the horse or tyne the saddle. I think it reasonable and necessary, that come who will, Maitland should be adjoined to them. Forget not this; for if this be neglected, it would be an injury and disgrace to a youth, that brings, by his noble carriage, credit to our nation, and help to our cause. The best here make very much of him, and are oft in our house visiting him; such as, Northumberland, Sey, Waller, Salisbury, and such like. Burn this my free letter, except you will keep it, and say it is burnt, as you know whom we think did so. I pray God guide and bless you all. My service to my cummer and all friends.

Your master,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

39. To Mr William Spang. London, Dec. 7. 1643.

Cousin,

SINCE my last, November 17. there are few news here. From that day to Monday, I think the 20th, we kept in, providing for caushey-cloaths. On Monday morning we sent to both houses of parliament for a warrant for our sitting in the assembly. This was readily granted, and by Mr Henderson presented to the prolocutor; who sent out three of their number to convey us to the assembly here. No mortal man may enter to see or hear, let be to sit, without an order in writ from both houses of parliament. When we were brought in, Dr Twisse had a long harangue for our welcome, after so long and hazardous a voyage by sea and land, in so unseasonable a time of the year. When he had ended, we sat down in these places which since we have kept. The like of that assembly I did never see, and, as we hear say, the like was never in England, nor any where is shortly like to be. They did sit in Henry VII.'s chapel, in the place of the convocation; but since the weather grew cold, they did go to Jerusalem chamber, a fair room in the abbey of Westminster, about the bounds of the college forehall, but wider at the one end nearest the door; and on both sides are stages of seats as in the new assembly-house at Edinburgh, but not so high; for there will be room but for five or six score. At the upmost end there is a chair set on a frame, a foot from the earth, for the Mr Prolocutor Dr Twisse. Before it on the ground stands two chairs for the two Mr Assessors, Dr Burges and Mr Whyte. Before these two chairs, through the length of the room, stands a table, at which sits the two scribes, Mr Byefield and Mr Roborough. The house is all well hung, and has a good fire, which is some dainties at London. Foreanent the table, upon the prolocutor's right hand, there are three or four ranks of forms. On the lowest we five do sit. Upon the other, at our backs, the members of parliament deputed to the assembly. On the forms foreanent us, on the prolocutor's left hand, going from the upper end of the house to the chimney, and at the other end of the house, and backside of the table, till it come about to our seats, are four or five stages of forms, whereupon their divines sit as they please; albeit commonly

commonly they keep the same place. From the chimney to the door there are no seats, but a void for passage. The Lords of parliament use to sit on chairs, in that void, about the fire. We meet every day of the week except Saturday. We sit commonly from nine to two or three after noon. The prolocutor at the beginning and end has a short prayer. The man, as the world knows, is very learned in the questions he has studied, and very good, and beloved of all, and highly esteemed; but merely bookish, and not much, as it seems, acquainted with conceived prayer, among the unfittest of all the company for any action; so after the prayer he sits mute. It was the canny conveyance of these who guide most matters for their own interest to plant such a man of purpose in the chair. The one assessor, our good friend Dr Burgefs, a very active and sharp man, supplies, so far as is decent, the prolocutor's place; the other, our good friend Mr Whyte, has kept in of the gout since our coming. Ordinarily there will be present about threescore of their divines. These are divided in three committees; in one whereof every man is a member. No man is excluded who pleases to come to any of the three. Every committee, as the parliament gives order in writ to take any purpose to consideration, takes a portion, and in their afternoon-meeting prepares matters for the assembly, sets down their minds in distinct propositions, backs their propositions with texts of scripture. After the prayer, Mr Byefield the scribe reads the proposition and scriptures, whereupon the assembly debates in a most grave and orderly way. No man is called up to speak but who stands up of his own accord. He speaks so long as he will without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedly call on his name whom they desire to hear first. On whom the loudest and maniest voices call, he speaks. No man speaks to any but to the prolocutor. They harangue long and very learnedly. They study the question well beforehand, and prepare their speeches; but withal the men are exceeding prompt, and well spoken. I do marvel at the very accurate and extemporal replies that many of them usually make. When, upon every proposition by itself, and on every text of scripture that is brought to confirm it, every man who will has said his whole mind, and the replies, and duplies, and triplies, are heard; then the most part calls to the question. Byfield the scribe rises

ses from the table, and comes to the prolocutor's chair, who, from the scribe's book, reads the proposition, and says, as many as are in opinion that the question is well stated in the proposition, let them say I; when I is heard, he says, as many as think otherways say No. If the difference of I's and No's be clear, as usually it is, then the question is ordered by the scribes, and they go on to debate the first scripture alledged for proof of the proposition. If the sound of I and No be near equal, then says the prolocutor, as many as say I, stand up; while they stand, the scribe and others number them in their minds; when they are set down, the No's are bidden stand, and they likewise are numbered. This way is clear enough, and saves a great deal of time which we spend in reading our catalogue. When a question is once ordered, there is no more of that matter; but if a man will deviate, he is quickly taken up by Mr Assessor, or many others, confusedly crying, Speak to order. No man contradicts another expressly by name, but most discreetly speaks to the prolocutor, and at most holds on the general, The Reverend brother who lately or last spoke on this hand, on that side, above or below. I thought meet once for all to give you a taste of the outward form of their assembly. They follow the way of their parliament. Much of their way is good, and worthy of our imitation; only their longfomeness is woful at this time, when their church and kingdom lie under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion. They see the hurt of their length, but cannot get it helped; for being to establish a new platform of worship and discipline to their nation for all time to come, they think they cannot be answerable, if solidly, and at leisure, they do not examine every point thereof.

When our commissioners came up, they were desired to sit as members of the assembly; but they wisely declined to do so: but since they came up as commissioners from our national church to treat for uniformity, they required to be dealt with in that capacity. They were willing, as private men, to sit in the assembly, and upon occasion to give their advice in points debated; but for the uniformity, they required a committee might be appointed from the parliament and assembly to treat with them thereanent. All these, after some harsh enough debates, were granted: so once a-week, and whiles oftener, there is a committee of some Lords, Commons, and Divines, which
I meet

meet with us anent our commission. To this committee a paper was given in by our brethren before we came, as an introduction to further treaty. According to it the assembly did debate, and agree anent the duty of pastors. At our first coming, we found them in a very sharp debate anent the office of doctors. The Independent men, whereof there are some ten or eleven in the synod, many of them very able men, as Thomas Goodwin, Nye, Burroughs, Bridges, Carter, Caryl, Phillips, Sterry, were for the divine institution of a doctor in every congregation as well as a pastor. To these the others were extremely opposite, and somewhat bitterly, pressing much the simple identity of pastors and doctors. Mr Henderson travelled betwixt them, and drew on a committee for accommodation; in the whilk we agreed unanimously upon some six propositions, wherein the absolute necessity of a doctor in every congregation, and his divine institution, in formal terms, was eschewed; yet where two ministers can be had in one congregation, the one is allowed, according to his gift, to apply himself most to teaching, and the other to exhortation, according to the scriptures. The next point, whereon we yet stick, is ruling elders. Many a brave dispute have we had upon them these ten days. I profess my marvelling at the great learning, quickness, and eloquence, together with the great courtesy and discretion in speaking, of these men. Sundry of the ablest were flat against the institution of any such officer by divine right, as Dr Smith, Dr Temple, Mr Gataker, Mr Vines, Mr Price, Mr Hall, and many moe; beside the Independents, who truly speak much, and exceedingly well. The most of the synod were in our opinion, and reasoned bravely for it; such as, Mr Seaman, Mr Walker, Mr Marshall, Mr Newcoman, Mr Young, Mr Calamy. Sundry times Mr Henderson, Mr Rutherford, Mr Gillespie, all three, spoke exceedingly well. When all were tired, it came to the question. There was no doubt but we would have carried it by far most voices; yet because the opposites were men very considerable, above all gracious and learned little Palmer, we agreed upon a committee to satisfy, if it were possible, the dissenters. For this end we met to-day; and I hope, ere all be done, we shall agree. All of them were willing to admit elders in a prudential way; but this to us seemed most dangerous and unhappy, and therefore was peremptorily rejected. We trust to carry at last, with

the contentment of fundry once opposite, and silence of all, their divine and scriptural institution. This is a point of high consequence; and upon no other we expect so great difficulty, except alone on Independency; wherewith we purpose not to meddle in haste, till it please God to advance our army, which we expect will much assist our arguments. However, we are not desperate of some accommodation; for Goodwin, Boroughs, and Bridges, are men full, as it seems yet, of grace and modesty: if they shall prove otherwise, the body of the assembly and parliament, city and country, will disclaim them. The other day a number of the city and country ministers gave in an earnest and well-penned supplication to the assembly, regretting the lamentable confusion of their church under the present anarchy; the increase of Anabaptists, Antinomians, and other sectaries; the boldness of some in the city, and about, in gathering separate congregations; requesting the assembly's intercession with the parliament for the redress of these evils; and withal for the erection at London, during the time of these troubles, of a college for the youth, whose studies are interrupted at Oxford. This was well taken by the assembly. The parliament promised their best endeavours for all. John Goodwin, accused by Mr Walker and D. Homes of Socinianism, and others, are appointed to be admonished for essaying to gather congregations. The parliament the other day became sensible of their too long neglect of writing to the churches abroad of their condition; so it was the matter of our great committee to draw up letters in name of the assembly for the Protestant churches. The drawing of them was committed to Palmer, who yet is upon them. There is a little committee also, which meets in the assembly-house almost every morning, for the trial of expectants; and when they have heard them preach, and posed them with questions, they give in to the assembly a certificate of their qualifications: upon the which they are sent to supply vacant churches, but without ordination, till some government be erected in their desolate churches. Plundered ministers are appointed, by order of parliament, to be put in all vacant places in the city and country, in their obedience, till they be all provided. Concerning the affairs of the church, I need say no more at this time.

For the estate, I know not much of it; but thus it was
said

said by the mouth of the people to stand. The forces of both sides are yet near equal. Newcastle and General King came somewhat south towards Derby and Nottingham. It was thought they intended for Oxford, that the King had called all his forces together to master London before we could stir. Yet we hear since, that after some plundering in these parts, and the surprise of some 400 horse in Melton near Liecester, they are retired northward. Manchester and his great forces are on their back, but not willing to follow till we from Scotland advance. Brereton and Middleton had entered Wales, and taken fundry towns, and were fair for the getting of Westchester; for my Lord Capel, who had led the forces of Wales for the King, and had lent of his own estate, they say, L. 100,000 Sterling, was disgraced at court, and discouraged; but there landed some thousands of Irish, some call them 3000, some 4000, some 6000, near the town. General King, they say, marched thitherward; also Archbishop Williams, and other four bishops, did gather men and arms; which made Brereton and his Lancashire auxiliaries leave the siege of Chester, and go towards the Irish, before their conjunction with others; with what success, we do not yet hear. The General, when the King had fortified Reading, went towards Newport. Parmel got the place from the enemy, has fortified it for a winter-quarters, some thirty miles from London, a good sconce for the associate counties. His soldiers, if the city-regiments were returned, are not, it is thought, 3000. His officers are said to be above 1400; this makes him urge above L. 30,000 Sterling of monthly pay, to the great indignation of many. But the main chance is about good and valiant Sir William Waller. The grandees would see, they say, that poor man perish. With much ado did he gather some 2000 horse and 3000 foot; with these he was sent somewhat rashly towards the west to Basinghouse, some thirty miles from London, a place strongly fortified. When he had stormed it once or twice, his Westminster regiment refused to go on, and the most part of his foot stole away. He was forced to retire to Farnham castle, where at once Hopeton, with double his number, is on his back. Sundry days skirmishing among them for Sir William's advantage. At last Hopeton retires towards Winchester; but leaves Crawford to fortify Alton, some seven miles from Farn-

ham. The King came on Sunday last to Basinghouse, with purpose to break up Waller's quarters, and then to enter Kent; but, as we hear, Waller is recruited, from Kent, with horse and foot, and minds to stand to it. They may tig tag on this way this twelve-month. Yet if God send not in our army quickly, and give with it some notable success, this people are likely to faint. If it be the Lord's pleasure, to humble the souls of our people in sense of our national sin, and make them trust to his power only, it is very like we shall do the business. It were all the pities in the world that we should not make haste. If the parliament here be overthrown, it is clear a party shall be set up, of the most wicked men that breathes, who are likely to endanger the safety of the King and his family, of the whole Protestant churches, and the true wellfare of all these dominions for ever. If God may be pleased to strengthen our weak arm, we may be instruments of the greatest glory and most profit to our nation, both for the whole and many mens particular; of a gracious reformation, both in church and state, not only to these dominions, but also to others abroad, whose eyes and hearts are much towards our motions. If there be any malecontent mad fools among us, who would essay to mar that glorious assistance, it cannot be but God will make them smart for that unhappy and untimorous malignancy. Prince de Harcourt, the extraordinary ambassador of France, is tinkling here upon a mediation; but for little purpose. It is thought some of the Lords, who have ever been studying to get the King his will, have procured from France the ambassador who is here, to come over, upon hopes that under his intercession they should draw the parliament to treaty, wherein the King should make his conditions: but herein, as in many things else, they have miscounted themselves; for a letter of Secretary Nicholas to Goring, at the Hague, being intercepted, that reveals somewhat of this design, and advises to further the three ambassadors from Holland, but so that their instructions might be advantageous to the King. Also the French ambassador having staid so long at Oxford, without any address to the parliament, and when he came, however in private he spoke so to his friends, as if he did mislike all utterly what he had seen at Oxford, and would advise the discourting of the most there, also extolling the valour of our nation to the skies; yet

yet finding that he would not address himself to them as to a parliament, but only wrote an unsubscribed memorandum to my Lord Northumberland, that he would propone to the macer of the parliament, in the name of the Prince de Harcourt, that if they would shew to him the grounds of their taking of arms, he would labour to find the best expedients he could for a peace. They gave such answers as such a proposition deserved, That whensoever Prince de Harcourt did address himself to them as to the two houses of parliament, and shewed his commission from the French King to propone means of peace to them, they should gladly hear and consider whatever proposition, subscribed with his hand, he was pleased to make to them: upon such terms as these do they yet stand. There is no doubt of the French assistance to the King, if they were free; but it is thought the Duke of Bavaria's victory over their army in Alsatia, wherein Marshal Gudbriam is killed, and the Spaniard vaunting in Catalonia against Hodancourt, will cool a little the heat of the French blood while near summer. There is as little good expected from the Holland embassage, come when it will: so it seems his Majesty intends to try it shortly by arms. Prince Maurice lies about Plymouth. It is long since some outworks were taken; but our countryman Whartlaw, governor of the town, is so recruited from London, that he fears not the siege. The excise is like to be a great business. With ease, in London, it will afford L. 1000 Sterling a-day: if emulation betwixt Essex and Waller were away, it would maintain a good army it alone. Always for the present they intend to be upon the defensive alone, till our army appear in England; at which time they expect certainly at London a committee from the convention of our estates, to which they will join a committee from the parliament and city, into whose hands they mind to devolve the regulating of all these things which now are out of order. Till then, little hope of helping their languishing and distracted proceedings. All things are expected from God and the Scots. Northumberland is thought most cordial for us. Sey, and all, say as much; but none so panting for us as brave Waller. This much I had written when your letter December 11th came to me. I pray you continue to give me ample information of things abroad. All my colleagues take your remembrance kindly. I have been
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thinking you may do good service in this particular. There is shortly to come from the assembly here, and us commissioners from Scotland, letters in Latin to all the Reformed churches, and among the rest to you of Zealand and Holland. It is my earnest desire, if by some of the eminent brethren there, you can obtain, in their answers, which I hope will come, some clauses to be insert, of the churches of Holland and Zealand, grave counsel, and earnest desire, that, according to our profession in our late covenant, taken now by both the assemblies of Scotland and England, we would be careful, in our reformation after the word, to have an eye to that discipline, wherein all the Reformed churches do agree; and that we be very diligent to eschew that democrattick anarchy and independency of particular congregations, which they know to be opposite to the word of God, and destructive wholly of that discipline whereby they and the whole Reformed churches do stand. If by your dealing, such clauses could be gotten put into your letters unto us, and in the letters of the churches of France, Switzerland, Geneva, and others, by the means of your good friends D. Rivet and Spanheim, or some others, it might do us much good: for however we stick here on many things, yet the great and dangerous difference will be from the Independent faction, to whom it would be a great dash, if not only we of Scotland, but they also of Holland, France, and Switzerland, who are alike interested, would give a timely warning upon the occasion, from this, against the common and great enemies of that discipline which is common to us all. Think what you can get done here. We have been in a pitiful labyrinth these twelve days, about ruling elders, we yet stick into it. *Voetius De Episcopis et Presbyteris*, send it over; also if ye can get Mordehus and Sadael against him. I understand French. There is much searching of letters. I dare scarce write by the post unto you. I have heard yet nought from Scotland: albeit it be confidently avowed here, that the Scots army is already in England, yet we know of no such thing. My Lord Lothian, against the law of nations, and without any cause we can yet hear of, after some weeks restraint at Oxford, is now sent prisoner to the castle of Bristol. However, by act of parliament, Montrose, Traquair, and the rest of the pardoned incendiaries, were discharged court; yet Montrose long ago,
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and lately Traquair, fugitive from our state-censure, lives with the King at Oxford. Excommunicated Maxwell is an ordinary preacher, as they say, to the King. Niddisdale, Aboyne, and Antrim, again escaped from Carrickfergus, are all at Oxford, notwithstanding of our kingdom's challenge against them of high treason. If God give a good issue to all these businesses, readily I may with cheerfulness come over and visit your wife, to whom for the time I send my most hearty commendations. I shall have a care to give to Mr Cunningham what you require. My pamphlets do not sell. I have brought up some of my *Laudensium* and *Parallels* hither, but for no purpose. If you can make any thing of them there, send me word with the next. I must end at last. The Lord be with you, Dear Cousin.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

40. To Scotland.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

NOTWITHSTANDING of all I have written, yet, since I came from Scotland, I have received no letter out of it. Notwithstanding I resolve to remember you at all occasions, use me all of you as you will. However, things stand here in a very dangerous and doubtful posture, yet truly the goodness of God continually is so sensible, that those of the weakest faith may have good grounds of hope, that all shall have a happy conclusion. In our assembly, thanks to God, there is great love and union hitherto, and great appearance of more before long. We have, after many days debate, agreed, *nemine contradicente*, that beside ministers of the word, there are other ecclesiastical governors to join with the ministers of the word in the government of the church; that such are agreeable unto, and warranted by the word of God, especially Rom. xii. 8.; 1 Cor. xii. 28. How many and how learned debates we had on these things in twelve or thirteen sessions, from nine to half-two, it were long to relate. None in all the company did reason more, and more pertinently, than Mr Gillespie. That is an excellent youth; my heart blesses God in his behalf. For Mr Henderson and Mr Rutherford, all the world knows their graces. This day the office of deacon is concluded from
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the 6th of the Acts. There will be some debate of the perpetuity of his office, and the necessity of it in some cases, as where there are no poor, and where the magistrate provides for them; but that will not much trouble us. In the great committee, this afternoon, we have finally agreed on the draught of a letter for the churches abroad, to inform them of our condition, which you may see in print. Also we have begun an business (very handsomely I trust) of great consequence. In the time of this anarchy, the divisions of people does much increase: the Independent party grows; but the Anabaptists more; and the Antinomians most. The Independents being most able men, and of great credit, fearing no less than banishment from their native country if presbyteries were erected, are watchful that no conclusion be taken for their prejudice. It was my advice, which Mr Henderson presently applauded, and gave me thanks for it, to eschew a publick rupture with the Independents, till we were more able for them. As yet a presbytery to this people is conceived to be a strange monster. It was our good therefore to go hand in hand, so far as we did agree, against the common enemy; hoping that in our differences, when we behoved to come to them, God would give us light; in the mean time, we would essay to agree upon the directory of worship, wherein we expect no small help from these men to abolish the great idol of England, the service-book, and to erect in all the parts of worship a full conformity to Scotland in all things worthy to be spoken of. Having proponed thir motions in the ears of some of the chief of the assembly and parliament, but in a tacit way, they were well taken; and this day, as we resolved, were proponed by Mr Solicitor, seconded by Sir Henry Vane, my Lords Sey and Wharton, at our committee, and assented to by all; that a sub-committee of five, without exclusion of any of the committee, shall meet with us of Scotland, for preparing a Directory of Worship, to be communicate to the great committee, and by them to the assembly. The men also were as we had forethought, Mr Marshall chairman of the committee, Mr Palmer, Mr Goodwin, Mr Young, Mr Herle, any two whereof, with two of us, make a quorum: for this good beginning we are very glad. Also there is a paper drawn up by Mr Marshall, in the name of the chief men of the assembly, and the chief of the Independents, to be
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communicate

communicate on Monday to the assembly, and by their advice to be published, declaring the assembly's mind to settle, with what speed is possible, all the questions needful about religion; to reform, according to the word of God, all abuses; and to give to every congregation a person, as their due: whereupon loving and pithy exhortations are framed to the people, in the name of the men who are of the greatest credit, to wait patiently for the assembly's mind, and to give over that most unseasonable purpose of their own reformati^ons, and gathering of congregations; but good is expected from this mean. Farther, ways are in hand, which, if God ble^ss, the Independents will either come to us, or have very few to follow them. As for the other sects, wise men are in opinion, that God's favour in this assembly will make them evanish. We had great need of your prayers. On Wednesday Mr Pym was carried from his house to Westminster, on the shoulders, as the fashion is, of the chief men in the lower house, all the house going in procession before him, and before them the assembly of divines. Marshall had a most eloquent and pertinent funeral sermon; which we would not hear; for funeral-sermons we must have away, with the rest. The parliament has ordered to pay his debt, and to build him, in the chapel of Henry VII. a stately monument.

The coming over of the Irish to Wales has made Brereton and Middleton to leave Chester and all these fields. Newcastle has spoiled all Derbyshire. Manchester is about Cambridge, and the General's small forces about St Alban's. The most of the King's forces, with Hopeton and Crawford, fell down on Suffex to break through to Kent. Waller lay in their way at Farnham. The word went of a great victory he had got; but this was a fable. By the contrary, the army brake into Suffex, and took Arundel castle; which put this city in some sadness; especially, when they hear the certainty, that the Scots army was not come in, and had not their rendezvous before the 29th of December, they were much dejected; and a strong party in the parliament and city, which ever would have been at peace on any terms, made great use of this dejection, pressing to have the General's army made strong, but Waller's, Manchester's, and all others, so weak as they might, that if they could not persuade, yet by the power of the General's army, when it had all the strength conveyed to it,

they might command a peace, to be taken in what terms they found it most convenient for their own particular. This very dangerous and much-suspected design, I hope God has disappointed; for however the houses have ordered L. 30,000 a-month for the General's army, the most of all the money which they will be able to get, yet we hear not of the increase of his forces: also God in mercy, to encourage this fainting people, has given Sir William Waller a sensible advantage, which will for one fortnight uphold their heart, till they hear of our march. Sir William having got his recruits from Kent, marched as it were toward Arundel castle; but behold, after a march all night, in the morning he appears before Alton at unawares, the enemy's chief quarters. The Earl of Crawford taking the alarm, gets out with his troops; but being overmastered, he got away with a few; the rest were all taken, as is here now for two days believed, to the number of 900 soldiers and 1200 arms; which causes here great joy, coming in so sad and fearful a time. Also we hear of Hamilton's coming to Oxford, and of the King's sadness, after his assurance of our nation's moving truly, the contrary whereof he was ever made to believe. If God bring in that army quickly, and be pleased to be with it, all here at once will be well; if otherwise, all here will quickly ruin. All our friends here cry for a committee to come up from our states. If it were come, I doubt not of money both for our army and these in Ireland; for the extremities they are here oft put to for want of money, comes not so much from want as from misgovernment, which our committee, as is conceived, will get helped if it were here. All our company, praise to God, are in good health and chearful. I must break off; for I must preach to-morrow, as also my other colleagues.

41. For Scotland.

THE affairs of church and state here since my last, so far as we of the vulgar sort do hear, have thus proceeded. After that with great and long debates we had gotten well near unanimously concluded all we desired about pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons, we spent two or three sessions upon widows; not that we needed to stay so long on that subject, but partly because every thing that comes

comes to the assembly must be debated, and none of their debates are short; and partly because the committee had prepared no other matter to count of for the assembly to treat on. Sundry things were in hands, but nothing in readiness to come in publick; for this reason, among others, many were the more willing to have the assembly adjourned for the holydays of Zuil, much against our minds. On the Friday I moved Mr Henderson to go to the assembly; for else he purposed to have staid at home that day; that as all of us stoutly had preached against their Christmas, so in private we might solicit our acquaintance of the assembly, and speak something of it in publick; that for the discountenancing of that superstition, it were good the assembly should not adjourn, but sit on Monday, their Christmas day. We found sundry willing to follow our advice, but the most resolved to preach that day, till the parliament should reform it in an orderly way; so, to our small contentment, the assembly was adjourned from Friday till Thursday next: yet we prevailed with our friends of the lower house to carry it so in parliament, that both houses did profane that holy day, by sitting on it, to our joy, and some of the assembly's shame. On Wednesday we kept the solemn fast. Mr Henderson did preach to the House of Commons a most gracious, wise, and learned sermon, which you will see in print. Mr Rutherford is desired by them to preach the next fast-day. One of the committee-matters is the Psalter. An old most honest member of the House of Commons, Mr Rous, has helped the old Psalter, in the most places faulty. His friends are very pressing in the assembly that his book may be examined, and helped by the author in what places it should be found meet, and then be commended to the parliament, that they may enjoin the publick use of it. One of their considerations is, the great private advantage which would by this book come to their friend: but many do oppose the motion; the most, because the work is not so well done as they think it might. Mr Nye spake much against a tie to any Psalter, and something against the singing of paraphrases, as of preaching of homilies. We underhand will mightily oppose it; for the Psalter is a great part of our uniformity, which we cannot let pass till our church be well advised with it. I wish I had Rowallan's Psalter here; for I like it much better than any yet I have seen. We had great

and sharp debates about the paper I wrote of before. Mr Marshall, with a smooth speech, made way for it, and got it read once and again; but several spake much against fundry expressions of it, as giving too much countenance to these who had gathered congregations, and favour more than needed to the Independents; but they did avow, that they were much thereby prejudged, and were most willing to suppress the paper, and would by no means consent to the alteration of any one word of it. I truly wish it had never been moved; for I expect more evil to our cause from it than good: yet since it was moved so much in publick, if it had been rejected, it would certainly have made a greater heartburning among the dissenting brethren than yet had appeared: so at last it passed with the assembly's allowance; but without voicing. You may see it now in print. What fruits it shall produce, we know not; only, a day or two thereafter, some of the Anabaptists came to the assembly's scribe with a letter, inveighing against our covenant, and carrying with them a printed sheet of admonitions to the assembly from an old English Anabaptist at Amsterdam, to give a full liberty of conscience to all sects, and to beware of keeping any Sabbath, and such like. The scribe offered to read all in the assembly. Here rose a quick enough debate. Goodwin, Nye, and their party, by all means pressing the neglect, contempt, and suppressing all such fantastick papers; others were as vehement for the taking notice of them, that the parliament might be acquaint therewith, to see to the remedy of these dangerous sects. The matter was left to be considered as the committees should think fit; but many marvelled at Goodwin and Nye's vehemency in that matter. Yet the day following their passion gave greater offence. We were called out before twelve to dine with old Sir Henry Vane. Dr Twisse was absent that day. Dr Burges's fell to be in the chair that day. The question came, What should follow the widows? There were left some branches of the apostles and evangelists duties yet undiscussed. We thought these questions needless, and wished they had been passed; but fundry by all means would have them in, of design to have the dependency of particular congregations from the apostles in matters of ordination and jurisdiction determined. The Independents, foreseeing the prejudice such a determination might bring to their cause, by all means strove to decline that dispute; as indeed it is marked

marked by all, that to the uttermost of their power hitherto they have studied procrastination of all things, finding that by time they gained. We indeed did not much care for delays, till the breath of our army might blow upon us some more favour and strength. However, that day, we being gone, the one party pressing the debate of the apostles power over congregations, the other sharply declining, there fell in betwixt Goodwin and Burges's hotter words than were expected from Goodwin. Mr Marshall composed all so well as he could. Mens humours, opinions, engagements, are so far different, that I am afraid for the issue. We doubt not to carry all in the assembly and parliament clearly according to our mind; but if we carry not the Independents with us, there will be ground laid for a very troublesome schism. Always it is our care to use our utmost endeavours to prevent that dangerous evil; and in this our purpose, above any other, we had need of the help of your prayers. We had, as I wrote, obtained a subcommittee of five to join with us for preparing to the great committee some materials for a directory. At our first meeting, for the first hour, we made pretty progress, to see what should be the work of an ordinary Sabbath, separate from fasts, communions, baptisms, marriage. Here came the first question, about readers. The assembly had passed a vote before we came, That it is a part of the pastor's office to read the scriptures: what help he may have herein by these who are not pastors, it is not yet agitate. Always these of best note about London are now in use, in the desk, to pray, and read in the Sunday morning four chapters, and expone some of them, and cause sing two psalms, and then to go to the pulpit to preach. We are not against the minister's reading and exponing when he does not preach: we fear it put preaching in a more narrow and discreditable room than we could wish, if all this work be laid on the minister before he preach. My overture was, to pass over that block in the beginning, and all other matter of great debate, till we have gone over these things wherein we did agree. This was followed. So, beginning with the pastor in the pulpit, and leaving till afterwards how families should be prepared in private for the work of the Sabbath, and what should be their exercise before the pastor came to the pulpit, our first question was about the preface before prayer. As for the minister's bowing in the pulpit,

pit, we did misken it; for, besides the Independents vehemency against it, there is no such custom here used by any: so we thought it unseasonable to move it in the very entry, but minds in due time to do the best for it we may. A long debate we had about the conveniency of prefacing, yet at last we agreed on the expediency of it. We were next settling on the manner of the prayer, if it were good to have two prayers, as we use, before sermon; or but one, as they use: if in that first prayer it were meet to take in the king, church, and sick, as they do; or leave these to the last prayers, as we. While we are sweetly debating on these things, in came Mr Goodwin, who incontinent essayed to turn all upside down, to reason against all directories, and our very first grounds; also that all prefacing was unlawful; that, according to 1 Tim. ii. 1. it was necessary to begin with prayer, and that in our first prayer we behoved to pray for the king. All these our debates, private and publick, I have in writ: at meeting you shall have any of them you will. The most of all the assembly write, as also all the people almost, men, women, and children, write at preaching. That day God opened my mouth somewhat to my own contentment, to Goodwin's new motions; I thought I got good new extemporal answers; however, he troubled us so, that after long debates we could conclude nothing. For the help of this evil, we thought it best to speak with him in private; so we invited him to dinner, and spent an afternoon with him very sweetly. It were a thousand pities of that man; he is of many excellent parts. I hope God will not permit him to go on to lead a faction for renting of the kirk. We and he seemed to agree pretty well in the most things of the directory. Always how all will be, I cannot yet say; but with the next you will hear more; for we now resolve to use all means to be at some point. Our letter to foreign churches, formed by Mr Marshall, except some clauses belonging to us put in by Mr Henderson, is now turned into Latin by Mr Arrowsmith, (a man with a glass eye, in place of that which was put out by an arrow), a learned divine, on whom the assembly put the writing against the Antinomians. Mr Rutherford's other large book against the Independents is in the press, and will do good. I am glad my piece is yet in; for if need be to put it out, I can make it much better than it was. Thus much for our church-affairs, which most concern us.

As

As for the state, we were moved, for the injury done to Lothian at Oxford, that when all calumnies were clearly discussed, to his Majesty's full contentment, and he expected certainly to be dispatched to-morrow for Scotland, coming, according to appointment, to kiss the King's hand, he is pressed to an oath not to bear arms, without express direction from his Majesty. When herein he alledged conscience, he is desired to advise till night; but before noon, he gets a warrant to go prisoner to Bristol castle, upon the King's mere pleasure. When he came hither, he had but one narrow room allotted to him, and that of bare walls, to be plenished at his cost, with furniture, all to be left to his jailor. At nine o'clock he was closed in his room alone, without his page, till the morning: being sickly before, melancholy increased his disease; so he took physick at night. When it began most to work, no man was permitted to be with him. This barbarous usage was like to cost him his life; and the word went that he was dead. When his man came to Oxford, to inform the King of his danger, the Earl of Forth, Traquair, and William Murray, were his good friends. The King disavowed any such warrant from himself to keep him so straitly; and gave order that he should have the liberty of the whole city. After the direction, Secretary Nicolson would have juggled; but by the men named he was forced to send the warrant clearly: what obedience it hath yet got, we have not heard. But these things we are made to neglect by the greater mischance of our new Duke. Before ever he came near Oxford, the pyc was made for him. It was resolved to take him prisoner at the port before he came to his lodging, to increase the disgrace; but coming some hours sooner than they expected, he eschewed that affront: yet he was no sooner known to be come, but presently he was commanded to keep his house, and a guard of musqueteers put to his gate. Lanerk also was discharged court, a day or two thereafter. The good quaternion, Montrose, Niddesdale, Aboyn, and Ogilbie, had subscribed his accusation: he was made close prisoner, and no man permitted to come near him, but by the King's special warrant. Only three of his servants were inclosed with him, Dr Baillie, Mr John Hamilton, and his Welsh page. Sir Robert Spottiswood is thought to be a great stickler. Bishop Maxwel, an ordinary preacher to the King, does no good,

good. Traquair, Ruthven, and William Murray, would seem to be much his friends. Many here thinks him a gone man ; not so much for the fury of his accusers, as the desperate malice of the Queen against him, and her fears, if he were freed, of his power with the King. The matters laid to his charge will never be proven ; and he is in no hazard if he might have justice ; but he has been foolish in his wisdom. Meikle Jo. would have been in to visit him, as he said, to give him his coat, as the greater fool than he, for coming hither. However he has in my mind done our nation and cause great wrong ; yet, since all his suffering is for the court's hatred of our cause and nation, I think all Scots hearts must pity him, and pray for him, and make either for a speedy rescue of him, if living, or a severe revenge of him, if dead. At court Jermyn is all : he is now Lord Jermyn, and Earl of Ber-ry, and is expected shortly to be Duke of Norfolk. Before, a junto of seven ruled all, Rupert, Richmond, Bristol, Digby, Jermyn, Piercy, Cottington ; and now Windebank is come back to his old place of principal secretary : but the division even among these is great, and among all the rest of note in Oxford, their malecontent and great poverty increases. Jermyn has procured, with the small good-will of the rest, a proclamation, for all the members of the parliament to come to Oxford the 22d of January, to receive an absolute pardon, without any exception of persons ; to advise his Majesty the means of a solid peace, and how to oppose the invasion of strangers, the Scots, who now are on their way for the conquest of England. This the Houses have referred to a committee, to be communicate with us, that a speedy declaration may be set out upon it. Matters here are, praise to God, in a reasonable good posture. The powerful faction who intended to break the people, is more quiet. They gave way to the imploring of our help, being assured we could not come, or at least would not come, before the spring, long before which they were sure to end their game. But now seeing we are ready, they are at a non-plus ; so much the more, as their side thrives in God's mercy better than they could wish. Waller, from Alton, went to Arundel, took quickly the town, and straitly besieged the castle. Of his captives at Alton, some 500 took the covenant, and joined with him ; 400 he sent hither prisoners. The General, Major Skippon, going from Newport to Exeter, fell

fell on Grafton castle, and took it with many prisoners. Also Meldrum has regained Gainborough with great honour and advantage. These are three accidents of consequence, but yet the danger remains. Waller expected, in three days, to have starved them in Arundel castle; but they hold out yet above eight days. They expect Hopeton to relieve them; and long it has been said, that all the forces the King can make in these bounds, would come to swallow up Waller, that so the King might get Kent, and from it come upon London. For the preventing of this, the close committee wrote to the general a fortnight ago, to retire to Windsor for the safety of Waller's army. He excused himself by letters to the Houses; whereupon both the Houses wrote to him peremptorily ten days ago to march to Windsor, shewing that they had appointed Manchester to see to Newport and St Alban's, the places he pretended to be feared for. For all this, he stirs not; so that yesterday both the Houses wrote to him again for that end. The forces of Kent will not join with Waller; but say, they will defend their own county. The city bands have no will to go to the field. There is among this people but little courage, less providence, and no discipline at all. If God help not us to save them, they are desperate. Newcastle is marching northward towards you. A council of war at St Alban's has condemned Nathaniel Fienes to die, for his cowardice in delivering Bristol. Bedford has left the King; and sundry more are following. A strange change we hear abroad: The Swedes are suddenly fallen on the King of Denmark, having found his letters to the Emperor against them; they are like to plague him, so that he shall not harm us in haste. Also all France is beginning to reel; the court clearly to divide; the Duke of Orleans and the Queen to join with the Guises against Condé. Brittany, and other provinces, are in arms, for to be free of some taxes: the regiments of the guards are gone to suppress them. The loss of their Dutch army, and their great disadvantages in Catalonia, diminishes their strength and reputation abroad; but the poor Protestants are like to pay for all. The Queen, they say, is like to prove a weak-witted and wicked woman; that she has entered herself in the society of the Holy Sacrament for extirpation of heresies; that over all France there are publick collections for the Catholick cause in Britain. Many things of this kind are

written hither from Paris and Hamburg this week. Truly we had need to draw nearer to God. That lion is roaring more nor ever against poor Protestants; yet we must trust in God, who will tread that wicked beast, and all her followers, under foot.

Though matters yet be full of difficulty and danger, yet we have great arguments of hope, in all the particulars in hand, and of faith, that the General shall go well enough in despite of the devil. Difficulties are let fall in, for the greater glory of him who will make out this great work, and I think, by his providence, is making way for it in the kingdoms over sea.

London, January 1. 1644.

We have been perplexed these three days, with flagrant reports over all the city, of the Duke Hamilton's dispatch at Oxford, in three or four divers base ways; but, thanks be to God, we are now assured of his good health. The report at Oxford is, they mind to put him to the trial of his peers. They say Hurry is once dead in his bed at Oxford, of an old wound. Henderson has got his pass from the King, and is seeking it also from the parliament, for Holland. The most of the Scots officers on both sides here are malecontent.

42. To Mr William Spang. January 1. 1644.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

I had no will to write more to you, till I found you had received my former; but now I send you all I know since, which I sent also to Scotland. The English treaty with Meldrum came not to Leith before the 21st of November: judge ye if it were not all the speed could possibly be made, to raise, and bring to the rendezvous at the border of England, the 29th of December, a potent army. They resolve to be in Berwick the 1st of January. Argyle minds to attend the committee of the army. Mr Robert Douglas waits on the General. Balmerino stays at Edinburgh, to look to the affairs of the kingdom. Major Lumsden commands the forces in the country. Lieutenant-General Baillie goes to England. The Chancellor and Wariston come up hither. The great God be in this high and mighty enterprise. The fools at Oxford are
now

now beginning to fear us, and yet have no grace to do any thing right. I hope God will take order with that wicked faction, as insolently wicked as ever. The not answering of your Zealand letter, I pray you excuse as you can. The truth was, Mr Henderson, who only can well, and uses to pen these things, went presently to England; and the rest were so taken up with the hurlyburly of the English expedition, that Mr Robert Douglas, I think, did forget it. At another time we shall make a large amends. Fail not, when our letters come, as quickly they will, to obtain from your folks, and, if ye can, from these of Switzerland, France, and Geneva, a grave and weighty admonition to this assembly, to be careful to suppress all schismatics, and the mother and foster of all the independency of congregations. This counsel will be very seasonable, and will be well taken, I assure you, both by parliament and assembly, and all except some few who are guilty of the fault.

43. To Scotland. February 18. 1644.

SINCE my last, January 1st, affairs here had this progress, so far as I understand. The assembly having past, albeit with long debate, yet with reasonable good accord in the end, sundry conclusions, according to our mind, anent all the officers of the church severally; before they entered on their duties, as conjoined in sessions, presbyteries, and synods, for ordination and jurisdiction, they thought meet to consider some things further in the officers, both extraordinary and ordinary, some more characters of the apostles, their power to ordain officers in all congregations, their power to send out evangelists to ordain any where, their power to decide all questions either of doctrine or fact by word or writ. After much debate arising from mere jealousies, that these things were brought in for prejudice and far ends, at last there was agreeance, while the 14th of Acts, 23d verse, was brought for a proof of the apostles power of ordination, and was going to be voiced. Very learned and acute Mr Gillespie, a singular ornament of our church, than whom not one in the whole assembly speaks to better purpose, and with better acceptance by all the hearers, advertised, that the word *χειροτονια*, of purpose by

the Episcopal translators turned *ordaining*, was truly *choosing*, importing the people's suffrages in electing their officers. Hence arose a tough debate, that took up two whole sessions. Mr Henderson's overture ended the plea; for granting, that in the latter part of the verse, the apostles praying and fasting might import their imposition of hands, and ordaining, he advised to put the proof on the whole verse, and not on any part, with an express declaration of the assembly's sense, and intention, not to pre-judge any argument which in due time might be alledged out of this place, either for popular election or against it. In the debating of a proposition, anent the pastor's power to judge who was meet to be admitted to the table, and who to be excluded, and who to be excommunicated, there were sundry weighty questions stated, especially that of excommunication, by Mr Selden; avowing, with Erasmus, that there was no such censure in scripture, and what it was, was merely civil: also that of suspension from the sacrament, the Independents denying the lawfulness of all such censures; these were remitted to their own place. And at last the committee gave in their propositions anent ordination; 1st, That it was a solemn designation of persons for church-officers; the next, That it was always to be continued in the church; the 3d, who were to ordain; the 4th, who to be ordained; the 5th, what rites and actions to be used in ordination. Upon the first two, and their scripture-probations, after two, or three, or four sessions debates, there was a reasonable good accord; but in our last three will be our great controversy. The good God grant us to agree to the truth in them. To day the debate will begin. The Independents, holding off with long weapons, and debating all things too prolixly which come within twenty miles of their quarters, were taken up sundry times, somewhat sharply, both by divines and parliament-men; to whom their replies ever were quick and high, at will. At last, foreseeing that they behoved, ere long, to come to the point, they put out in print, on a sudden, an apologetical narration of their way, which long had lien ready beside them, wherein they petition the parliament, in a most sly and cunning way, for a toleration, and withal lend too bold wipes to all the Reformed churches, as imperfect yet in their reformation, while their new model be embraced, which they set out so well as they are able. This
piece

piece abruptly they presented to the assembly, giving to every member a copy: also they gave books to some of either House. That same day they invited us, and some principal men of the assembly, to a very great feast, when we had not read their book, so no word of that matter was betwixt us; but so soon as we looked on it, we were mightily displeased therewith, and so were the most of the assembly, and we found a necessity to answer it, for the vindication of our church from their aspersions. What both we and others shall reply, ye will hear ere long in print. The thing in itself coming out at this time, was very apt to have kindled a fire, and it seems both the devil and some men intended it, to contribute to the very wicked plot, at that same instant a-working, but shortly after discovered almost miraculously. Yet God, who overpowers both devils and men, I hope shall turn that engine upon the face of its crafty contrivers, and make it advantageous for our cause. The other day, his Excellence, my Lord Essex, came to the assembly, with the warrant of both Houses to sit as a member; where, after he had given his oath, as the form is, to propone or consent to nothing but what he was persuaded was according to the word of God, he was welcomed by a harangue from the prolocutor. We had so contrived it with my Lord Wharton, that the Lords that day did petition the assembly, they might have one of the divines to attend their House for a week, as it came about, to pray to God with them. Some days thereafter the Lower House petitioned for the same. Both their desires were gladly granted; for by this means the relicks of the service-book, which till then was every day used in both Houses, are at last banished. Paul's and Westminster are purged of their images, organs, and all which gave offence. My Lord Manchester made two fair bonfires of such trinkets at Cambridge. We had two or three committees for settling orders to have our covenant received universally in all the country, also for sending it, with a large narration of our condition in Latin, to the churches abroad; all which will come abroad in print. Being wearied with the length of their proceedings, and foreseeing an appearance of a breach with the Independents, we used all the means we could, while the weather was fair, to put them to the spurs. After privy conference with the special men, we moved, in publick, to have an answer to our paper, anent the officers

fiters of the church, and assemblies thereof, that we might give account to our church of our diligence. We were referred, as we had contrived it, to the grand committee, to give in to it what further papers we thought meet, which the assembly should take to their consideration. They were very earnest to have us present at their committees, where all their propositions, which the assembly debated, were framed. This we shifted, as too burdensome, and unfitting our place; but we thought it better to give in our papers to the great committee appointed to treat with us: so we are preparing for them the grounds of our assemblies and presbyteries. Also we wrote a common letter to the commission of our church, desiring a letter from them to us for putting us to more speed, in such terms as we might show it to the assembly. Likewise we pressed the sub-committee to go on in the directory. At that meeting Mr Goodwin brought Mr Nye with him; which we thought an impudent intrusion; but took no notice of it. After that all we had done had been ranversed, we had so contrived it, that it was laid, by all, upon us to present, at the next meeting, the matter of all the prayers of the Sabbath-day. This, with much labour, we drew up, and gave in at the third meeting; whereupon as yet they are considering. By this, ye may perceive, that though our progress be small, yet our endeavours are to the uttermost of our strength. These things must be more advanced by your prayers, than by our pains; else they will stick, and lets will be insuperable.

The affairs of the kingdom are as before. Sir William Waller has got Arundel house, with 800 prisoners and 80 officers, many horse and arms; and a day after, a Dunkirk ship, chased by the Hollanders, landing there, was surpris'd. The London bands are up to him; and he is going after Hopeton. It is thought, if the King had been able he would have relieved Arundel. That all things here may be balanced, and joy mixed with grief, we hear of the cutting off by the Irish in Wales the Lancashire regiment, which came to Brereton's supply, and of fundry troops surpris'd in Lincolnshire by the garrison of Newark. Hamilton is sent to Pendennis castle in Cornwall, where Burton was, to be most closely kept. They speak of Lanerk's commitment, and sending to Worcester. The most here think both shall be made away. The King's
proclamation

proclamation for a meeting at Oxford, January 22d, for the evacuating of the parliament, puts fundry to strange and high expressions. The ways of the court are desperately irritative; and if they continue a little, may have more dangerous effects for the contrivers than ever. The plottings are incessant. They thought to have given us a new-year's gift, which God, in his great goodness, at the very nick did prevent. Ye will see much of it in print. But what I heard from the principal discoverers themselves was this: Sir Basil Brook, one of the chief heads of the Popish faction, who was treasurer of the Popish contribution to the King for levying of the first arms against Scotland, a prime stickler in the Irish rebellion, in prison here this half-year for debt, renews, with fundry other, the design of dividing the English from us, notwithstanding of our covenant; of dividing the city from the parliament; the city in itself, the parliament in itself. He drew to him Colonel Read, nephew to Colonel Bruce, a most subtle and active knave, a main contriver of the Irish rebellion, a head of a convent of priests in this city, fully trusted with all the Jesuits plots these many years, but lately taken prisoner; also one Reyley, general scout-master, a man above all suspicion, esteemed singularly religious, of so great a reputation, that he was a prime leader of the city-council; also one Violet, a subtle goldsmith, who, for known malignancy, was in prison. Reyley, by his means, gets both Read and Violet exchanged with other prisoners, and sent to Oxford, with the copy of such letters and propositions to be sent from the King to the Mayor and common council, as Brook and his fellows had devised. The King, Queen, Digby, and Duchess of Buckingham, were acquainted with all. The King signed the letters; Digby wrote with them his own to Brook; Read sent his instructions to Reyley. Sundry in the common council and city were to be dealt with, that so soon as the King's letter should be delivered to the Mayor, he should be necessitate to convene the council, or else a tumult to be made for his refuse. The letters were so full of good words, that they were persuaded would move the most part to petition the parliament to treat; whereupon they concluded, the parliament would either conclude, and take fair conditions, without the Scots; or, if they refused, a party in both Houses would quarrel with the city, and so either carry all to the King, or put all in a confusion. In the mean time,

Hopeton,

Hopeton, with all the King's forces, should overwhelm Waller, and with Kentish friends draw near the city. The General, not to suspect willingness, should be unable to do any good, not having above 3000 or 4000 malecontent soldiers, and these thirty miles off, at Newport. Manchester's associate counties being also far off, and so were to be well advised not to move a foot on any occasion out of their own bounds. There was much speech also of the Independents treating at Oxford at the same time. I know they have offers from the court of all they require. While as this is hatched, and on the point of breaking out in execution, some favour of it coming to the nose of young Sir Henry Vane, he calls the Solicitor and my Lord Wharton to meet in Goldsmith's hall on Thursday at eight o'clock at night; sends in a friendly way for Reyley, no ways suspecting him; yet finding him confused in his answers, and more reserved than they expected, after long conference to little purpose, the Solicitor, walking up and down the room pensive and musing, kicks with his foot a bit of paper on the floor, as a foul clout. In his turns, he kicks it now and then till it came to the side of the fire on the hearth; and when it was ready to burn, the sweet man, Mr Pryn's successor, began to think possibly there was somewhat in that paper might do good: taking it up, he finds it, reads the letter, which had fallen from Reyley. Upon this they made Reyley void his pockets of all; wherein they found so much as led them to Sir Basil Brook and Violet; who were presently sent for, and afterwards their papers also; whereupon all that night was spent; and before the autographs of the King's letters, of Digby's, of Read's, and other letters, were found, all was made plain. On Saturday an account of all was made to the Houses; and at night, first my Lord Wharton, and thereafter Sir Henry Vane and the Solicitor, made to us a full account of all. On Monday in Guildhall, Northumberland, Essex, Warwick, Kent, Rutland, Manchester, from the Lords, and fourteen from the Commons, made, by Sir Henry Vane and the Solicitor, a large demonstration of all to a huge number of citizens, to their manifold exclamations, and cries for justice. The sheriffs, and many aldermen, in their chains and gowns, did us the honour to come to our house, and make us an account of the matter, and to invite us against Thursday to a great feast, with the whole members of both Houses, at Taylor's hall; also

to hear a sermon of thanksgiving from Marshall that morning. This accident, invented for division, has made a firmer union of the whole party than ever. Great longing is for news of the Scots. We have got no letters since the 12th of December; so great a care have you of our information. It is reported here, that on Wednesday last the Scots army entered Newcastle without blood. If that be, it is a great mercy of God, and of huge consequence; but now of a long time we have been beaten with so many divers reports, that we believe nothing, and marvel, that for so long a time we have no certainty at all either of the condition of that army or of our nation. Thursday's ceremony was performed very solemnly. After Marshall's sermon, now in print, the procession went a very long way, from Christ's church to Taylors hall. The trained bands in arms on each side of the whole streets; the Common Council in their gowns marching; first the Mayor and Aldermen in their scarlet gowns on horseback; after them the General, Admiral, and the rest of the Lords, and officers of the armies, on foot; next to them the House of Commons, with their Speaker, and his mace before him; after the assembly of divines. It was appointed, that we should go betwixt the assembly and the House of Commons; but my Lord Maitland being drawn away with the Lords, and we not loving to take place before all the divines of England, stole away to our coach; and when there was no way for coaches, for throng of people, we went on foot, with great difficulty, through huge crowdings of people. While all passed through Cheapside, there was a great bonfire kindled, where the rich cross went to stand, of many fine pictures of Christ and the saints, of relicks, beads, and such trinkets. The feast was great, valued at L. 4000 Sterling; yet had no desert, nor musick, but drums and trumpets. In the great laigh hall were four tables for the Lords and Commons. The Mayor at the head of the chief in an upper room. Two long tables for the divines; at the head of the which we were set, with their prolocutor. All was concluded with a psalm, whereof Dr Burges read the line. There was no excess in any we heard of. The Speaker of the House of Commons drank to the Lords in name of all the Commons of England. The Lords stood all up, every one with his glass, for they represent none but themselves, and drunk to the Commons. The Mayor drank to both, in

name of the city. The sword-bearer, with his strong cap of maintenance still fixed on his head, came to us with the Mayor's drink. This ceremony was a fair demonstration of the great unanimity of all these whom Oxford plot would have divided. Yet we with the union in reality had been as great as it was in shew. Within a few days we found, that all plots were not at an end; but the jealousies betwixt the Houses were like to break out more than ever; which God, I hope, now has also composed. The matter was this: Holland, since his return from Oxford, was suspected to be no good instrument; but thought to be going on in his old way, in corrupting a party for the King. However, when he returned to his old place in the upper house, without any acknowledgement of his fault in going to Oxford, it enraged the Commons, seeing his case to be leading, to set down all the malignant Lords and Commons in their old places who pleased to come from Oxford, upon whatever design; wherefore they resolved to give in a charge of high treason against him, for deserting the parliament, and going to Oxford. This necessary peremptoriness did stir up humours in the Admiral his brother, also in the General, and sundry more in both Houses; in so far that the General proponed in the House of Lords to charge Sir Henry Vane younger, and the Solicitor, with high treason, for holding intelligence with Oxford. Here all was like to go to all. Friends were sent from the Lords to both the gentlemen, offering fair quarters to them, if they would accommodate Holland; but this would not do it. They avowed, that they had no personal grudge at Holland; that they were glad he should live in peace; but, for the preparative, desired he might abstain from the House in so suspect a time; withal declared, they required no favour, if themselves were guilty in the least measure. When they were in the midst of the trial of the city-plot, a servant of my Lord Lovelace comes to Sir Harry Vane with letters, shewing an earnest desire to confer with Sir Harry for the publick good, or with any whom he would intrust, at what time and place he should appoint. Sir Harry hoping, by this means, to discover more of the counsels of Oxford, communicates the letter to other three of the committee for the city-plot; also with the Speaker for their House, and with us five. We all desired him to pursue that business; whereupon he writes to my Lord Lovelace to meet at Reading such a day,

to propone what he pleased to Mr Wale, who was intrusted by him. To this Wale my Lord Lovelace offered, in the King's name, all Sir Harry could require to his person and party; withal assuring, that many were making their peace at Oxford, especially one for himself, and all tender consciences; that is, my Lord Sey, for himself, and the Independents. Some letters went to and fro to this purpose, which Sir Harry ever shewed to the forenamed persons. The General, and his party, finding some footsteps of this intelligence, but not knowing the convoy of it, thought they had circumscribed the men who stood most in their ways for a year ago. It was Sir Harry and the Solicitor's own inventions, from their love to the publick, to draw an ordinance, that it should be treason for any to hold intelligence with Oxford, except both Houses, or their Speakers, or my Lord General, were acquainted with it. With this intelligence, neither the higher house, nor the General, were acquaint; therefore it was high treason. But Sir Harry was clearly innocent. He pleaded, it was no holding of intelligence against the ordinance; it was only to discover the rest of the plot of Oxford; it was to communicate to the committee for the plot, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, to the Scots commissioners, and, which was better, the ordinance, however conceived, to be passed both Houses; yet, by the cunning of some Lords, it was not booked by the clerk of the House of Lords, and so not binding: but, which was best of all, Sir Harry prevented the General, and before he moved in the higher house, he reported in the lower all the matter; who were so well pleased with all his proceedings, that they ordained thanks to be given him for that service. Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr Hollis, and others, of the General's party, would then gladly have been at an end of that business: but the others were not so simple; for by the General's direction, the Advocate of the army had judicially called before him fundry witnesses, and interrogated them; whereof Sir Harry and the Solicitor complained, as of a course destructive of the privilege of parliament. For this end, the House appointed a committee to inquire what had been done in that matter. Hereof the General made a heavy complaint in the House of Lords, but had little answer. Always I hope, that the coming of our commissioners, who to our hearts great

joy are at last arrived, shall compose all these differences, and set affairs quickly in a better posture.

Upon Saturday the House of Lords sent to us in the assembly an account of another plot from Oxford, to this purpose. Captain Ogle, some six weeks ago prisoner, propones to his keeper, Devonish, a purpose he had to draw the Independents, and all these who were like to be grieved with the Scots presbytery, to compound with the King. For this effect, the keeper, a subtle knave, colluded with him. By the General's permission, Ogle got leave to speak with Mr Nye and Mr Goodwin, who were desired to hear his propositions, and seem to consent to them. The design is communicated to Bristol; who heartily embraced it, and, according to Ogle's desire, sends him L. 100, and a warrant to his keeper under the King's hand for his freedom. Being dismissed, and come to Oxford, he is made one of the gentlemen-pensioners; and fills all Oxford with hopes, that the Independents, Brownists, and the like, would all compone. Bristol, under his hand, gives them a full assurance of so full a liberty of their conscience as they could wish, inveighing withal against the Scots cruel invasion, and the tyranny of our presbytery, equal to the Spanish inquisition. It were long-some to write all the story, wherewith we were acquainted in great secrecy, foot by foot, as it proceeded. One part of the plot was, the delivery of Aylesbury; Lieutenant Moysey was permitted to receive L. 100, and many promises from the King, for that end. Also Devonish had promised to seize on Windsor castle. The General thought to have been ready at the appointed hour to have cast his forces betwixt these that came to receive Aylesbury and Windsor; but the extremity of the storm permitted him not to move, and the burning desire of the court suffered them not to delay their attempt on Aylesbury longer than Sunday, January 21. the day before the new parliament, thinking to make that success an encouragement to their languishing party. That night, all the King could make of the neighbouring garrisons, did march; but being mastered by the deepness of the snow, and extremity of the cold, and suspecting the vanity of their enterprise, when they had come within two miles of Aylesbury, returned malecontent, with the loss (by the storm) of many men and horse. The plot of that new parliament is like to succeed no better. The first day they met, the King had a
long

long speech to them, very invective against us ; but many being ready to give in papers for the removing of Digby, Cottington, and others, from court, the meeting was adjourned for some days.

We hear, that Montrose, Aboyne, Mackay, Niddisdale, and others, are to come to Scotland to raise tumults. I hope they shall be so watched, as they shall not be able to perform their mischievous undertakings. Hamilton petitioned, first, for a hearing ; 2. for a trial ; 3. to remain at Oxford, or near it, to be in some hope of a trial ; 4. to stay one day for his accommodation for so long a journey as Rendennis. All was refused. It was granted him to speak with his brother in the hearing of Ashton the Governor. He petitioned the benefit of the King's proclamation, of absolute pardon to all who came to Oxford before the 20th of January. This was neglected. The King has written for Ochiltree to further his destruction. Lanerk, the night before he was to be sent to Ludlow castle in Wales, came away to Windsor as James Cunningham Robertland's brother's groom. When he comes to Scotland, he will tell many tales. Since he came here, he has had my chamber and bed. So soon as Monday last, Mr Cheesly * made his report to the House of Commons, what he had seen in our army, which he had left the Wednesday before. All his relation was put in print, and L. 100 Ster. appointed him for his good news. The joint declaration of both kingdoms, which he brought, passed presently both Houses. These things were brought in a very important nick of time, by God's gracious providence. Never a more quick passage, from Holy Island to Yarmouth in thirty hours ; they had not cast anchor half an hour before the wind turned contrary. Mr Cheesly had no sooner made his report, when, I think, within few hours, a trumpet from Oxford brought to the General a large parchment, directed only to the Earl of Essex, subscribed by *Charles, P. York, and Cumberland*, (Prince Rupert is now Duke of Cumberland), with the hands of some forty Lords more, and a number of Commons, now at Oxford, who have deserted or been expelled the House of Westminster ; speaking much to the praise of the King, and danger of our invasion ; conjuring Essex to draw these who intrusted him (no word of the houses of parliament)

* Mr Cheesly, afterward Sir John Cheesly, was Mr Henderson's servant.

to begin a treaty of peace. This is the upshot of their long plots; and truly, if it had come a little before Mr Cheesly, when none here had great hopes of the Scots army, it might have brangled this weak people, and the strong lurking party might have been able to have begun a treaty without us, which would have undone all. The certainty of our army's coming made the Oxford parchment unreasonable. For answer, Essex sent the joint declaration of both kingdoms, which will be a very comfortless morsel at Oxford, being backed with yesternight's news, whereof the General assured us of the total rout of the Irish army, at Nantwich, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the killing of many, the taking of 1700 prisoners, five colonels, and Major-General Gibson, with a great number of officers, all their cannon and baggage. This victory is of great consequence many ways. We hope it will encourage a party at Oxford, in their design of purging the court of Cottington, Digby, Bristol, Jermyn, and the like. Manchester in our synod, in the name of the Lords, did move to expedite the point of ordination, that so gracious youths who so long have expected, may be admitted. A committee drew up two propositions for that end: 1. That in extraordinary cases something extraordinary might be done, keeping always so near to the rule as may be; 2. That for the present necessity, the ministers of London may be appointed by the houses of parliament to ordain ministers for London. The Independents, do what we are all able, have kept us debating these fourteen days on these two propositions; but little to their advantage; for I hope this day shall conclude the propositions: and now all the world proclaims in their faces, that they, and they only, have been the retarders of the assembly, to the evident hazard of the church's safety, which will not be much longer suffered. Canterbury every week is before the Lords for his trial; but we have so much to do, and he is a person now so contemptible, that we take no notice of his process.

January 3. The bearer's much longer stay for a ship than I expected, will make these letters come very late. Since, there has been but small progress in affairs. After our fourteen days debate for a present way of ordination, upon the desire of the Lords in this extraordinary necessity, when we were ready to conclude it, upon my Lord Sey's harangue and vehement desire, it was laid aside; and upon

upon hope made by him and his followers of the quick dispatch of the ordinary way, we fell on the long-wished-for subject of the presbytery; whereupon we have been skirmishing ever since. The proposition we stick on is, That no particular congregation may be under the government of one classical presbytery. The Independents agree for the negative; but finding, that all they brought yet was but vellications on quiddities, the most was impatient of their ways; so much the more, as this day being pressed to answer to the scriptures, which the committee had given in for the affirmation, they were obstinate to end first their negative. They promised at last to come to their scriptural objections; but would not name their scriptures beforehand. By this the most took them rather to seek vantage and victory, than the truth in so ingenuous a way as they professed. However, the matter cannot take long debate. The heat and clamorous confusion of this assembly is often times greater than with us. The reason, I think, is their way, both in assembly and parliament, to divest the speaker and prolocutor of all authority, and turn them to a very and mere chair, as they call them. We mind yet again to essay the Independents in a privy conference, if we can draw them to a reasonable accommodation; for to that toleration they aim at we cannot consent. In the committee for the directory, we gave in the matter of publick prayer. It was taken well by all the committee, and I hope shall pass. It was laid on to draw up a directory for both sacraments; on Mr Marshall for preaching; on Mr Palmer for catechising; on Mr Young for reading of scriptures, and singing of psalms; on Mr Goodwin and Mr Herle for fasting and thanksgiving. Had not the debate upon the main point of differing, (the presbytery), withdrawn all our minds, before this these tasks had been ended. However, we expect, by God's grace, shortly to end these. What is behind in the directory, will all be committed the next time to the forenamed hands; and if it had passed these, we apprehend no great difficulty in its passing the great committee, the assembly, and parliament. We get good help in our assembly-debates of my Lord Wariston; but of none more than of that noble youth Mr Gillespie. I truly admire his faculty, and bleis God, as for all my colleagues, so for him in that faculty with the first of the whole assembly. The

Anabaptists

Anabaptists and Antinomians increase; which yet cannot be helped.

The state-affairs go on wonderfully slowly. The General, the Admiral, Waller, and Manchester, have been here much of this month, trifling the time in mere discourse. The extraordinary diligence at Oxford is like to waken us. The parliament there has promised to give to the King, in a short time, L. 100,000 Sterling. Some 2000 more native Irish are come to Bristol, and have publick mas in five or six places. Prince Rupert, with Innes, and Hurry, recovered of his deadly wound, and with the most of the forces about Oxford, are gone northward; whether to set on Fairfax and Brereton to stay the course of their victorious arms, or to fall down on Lancashire, and so to our Scots border, when Montrose, Niddisdale, Aboyne, Ogilby, Mackay, have prepared a party among you beforehand, these designs will be carefully seen to by our rulers there. Montrose has contrived a wicked band and oath, against all who have taken the covenant, for the assistance of England, as traitors, which, we hear, Kinnoul, Traquair, and others, have refused, with disdain. However, ye would look to yourselves, and know well whom you trust. Yet we hope in our God that our army in England shall break the neck of all these wicked designs. The good party here were neither very able nor willing to move much till our state-commissioners came. At their first coming, they drew the form of an ordinance, whereby seven Lords and fourteen Commons, should join with our four commissioners, whereof five should make a quorum, viz. one Lord, two Commons, two Scots, for giving of counsel, for ordering and directing the armies in the three kingdoms for the ends expressed in the covenant. When we had agreed with Sir Harry Vane and the Solicitor, upon the draught, it was gotten through the House of Lords with little difficulty, where most was expected; my Lord Sey, upon new occurrences, being somewhat of the general; my Lord Northumberland joining effectually with all our desires, our army being now masters of his lands; also Stapleton being put on the committee, and desirous to be sent to salute our army. Hollis, Clotworthy, and others, were put off it; so a great business was made on it: yet it was carried over the belly of the opposers. But they turned themselves about another way, and wrought on the facility

cility of the General, deaving him with demonstrations of his limitation and degradation by this committee; that it made void the close committee of safety; it took the power to manage the war, to do all; which was to infringe his commission, subjecting him only to the two Houses, and no committee from them. Hereupon the House of Lords alters, and puts other six Lords, and twelve Commons to the former, limits the committee's power to advising and consulting, makes the English quorum to consist of three Lords and six Commons. Upon this demur we gave a short and sharp enough paper to both Houses, to be at a point, if they thought meet to make any use of our committee, which so oft and so earnestly they had sought for. It was so guided, that the Commons unanimously agreed to the former ordinance, and required the Lords to stand to their own hazard. This day the Lords have well near agreed to the former ordinance. If this were past, we look for a new life and vigour in all affairs, especially if it please God to send a sweet north-wind, carrying the certain news of the taking of Newcastle, which we daily expect. By all this you see what great need we have all of your effectual prayers. How great things are presently in hand! the highest affairs both of church and state being now in agitation, the diligence and power both of devils, and all kind of human enemies, being in their extreme bent-fail of opposition, either now or never to overthrow us, so much the more should your courage be to pray; as I persuade you the former supplications are all turned in sensible blessings on us; all here, as in body and mind, praise to his name, being supported to this day, as you do wish; which we truly ascribe in a good part to your intercession, which we intreat may continue and increase, especially for assistance to me in preaching the last Wednesday of this month before the House of Commons in the fast-day. This is all, but yet a great recompence, which I require of you for my long letters in a time not of much leisure. The Lord give an happy and quick end to all these confusions, and settle again these poor churches and kingdoms in truth and justice.

Since the closing of my last, the hard and great business of the joint committee is happily concluded, fully according to our mind, praised be God; for once we were in great fear of its miscarriage, and of the dividing of the

one House from the other upon it. They began to sit yesterday; and are appointed to sit every day at three o'clock, and oftener on occasion: henceforth we expect expedition. Manchester, to-morrow, goes down to Cambridge; is expected shortly shall have good 10,000 foot and 4000 horse on the field; also Sir William Waller, out of his association, is to have, in a few days, 10,000 horse and foot; and the General's army is recruiting to 10,000 or 12,000 men. It is hoped there will be more actions at once than before, to put matters quickly, if God please, to some point. The Earl of Forth, the other day, wrote to Essex for a pass to two gentlemen from his Majesty, to and from Westminster, for a treaty. The Houses not being mentioned in the letter, took no notice of the message, but were content their General should give a civil answer. It seems their weakness and fears at Oxford do increase daily. We did much doubt Prince Rupert's march northward, what it might produce; but it was for a poor design, which is miscarried, and he returned to Oxford. The hopes from France are almost vanished. Nothing now expected from Denmark. The French ambassador is gone home. The Holland ambassadors are at Oxford, for little purpose; for they are taken here for the Prince of Orange's creatures. It is said, these of Oxford are so far fallen, as to acknowledge the parliament at Westminster, and to put down Episcopacy, and to disclaim the cessation of Ireland. If our march to Newcastle has produced this much, I hope our taking of it shall obtain the rest. I hope our synod-affairs shall have a more speedy dispatch. A course will be shortly taken with all sectaries, and is begun already. The misorders which are at this time in New England, will make the Independents more willing to accommodate and comply with us. Praise to God we all are well, chearful, and hopeful, by your prayers, to see the advancement of a glorions work here.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

44. To Mr William Spang.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

You have a large report from me, how all went here to the 18th of February. My leisure since has been but small; and as yet I have no time. Only know, that your
letters

letters to us were exceeding welcome; and for your good service to God, and us, in due time, you shall receive thanks. My nephew is gone home, with his most loving remembrance of your great kindness. The other day some of the Dutch church came to the assembly-door, and delivered a letter to us, from the classes of Wallachren. It was publicly read, and taken with a great deal of respect. It came wonderful opportunely, and will do a great deal of good. The long and sharp censure of the apologetick narration was very well received by all, but the parties, who yet were altogether silent, and durst not oppose one word. A committee was presently appointed for translating it into English, and transmitting it, to be read, to both houses of parliament, both in Latin and English. What there it may work, you shall hear in time. It spoke so near to the mind and words of the Scots, that some said it favoured of them; but when some such muttering was brought to the face of the assembly, all did deny they knew any author of such a speech; so, no man avowing it, the Scots let such a calumny pass, without any apology. I believe they wished, and thought it just, that all the Reformed churches should do all which the divines of Walachren hath, in the defence of the cause of God, and all the Reformed churches, against common and very dangerous adversaries. But I heard them say, in private, that they had no correspondence at all with any foreign churches; it might be that some of them had sometimes letters from the minister of the Scots staple at Campvere, but that none of them had sent him either the apologetical narration, or so much as our answer to it; that they had never motioned any censure of that book by the foreign divines. However, in the good providence of God, that letter came. It is expected the synod of Zealand will not only avow what their brethren have written, but will give their brotherly advice to this synod, anent all the things in hand; which I assure you will be very well taken, and do much good; especially, if with their serious dissuasive from Independency, and cordial exhortation to erect presbyteries and synods, they join their counsels for abolishing the relicks of Romish superstition, in their festival-days and liturgy, &c. and above all to beware of any toleration of sects, wherein you are an evil and dangerous example. If you assist us at this time, God may make us helpful to you another day. Farewell. March 10th.

45. *To Mr William Spang. April 2. 1644.*

SINCE the 18th of February, till now, I have so little leisure, especially by my preparing and preaching my parliament-fermon, wherein, praised be God, I was graciously assisted, that I could not attend the writing of any long letter; but now, that task being off my hand, I may better wait on my friends. I shewed, in my last, how we were brought, in our assembly, to our chief question, That many particular congregations were under the government of one presbytery. The Independents pressed they might first be heard in the negative. Here they spent to us many of twenty long sessions. Goodwin took most of the speech upon him; yet they divided their arguments among them, and gave the managing of them by turns, to Bridges, Burroughs, Nye, Simpson, and Caryl. Truly, if the cause were good, the men have plenty of learning, wit, eloquence, and, above all, boldness and stiffness, to make it out; but when they had wearied themselves, and overwearied us all, we found the most they had to say against the presbytery, was but curious idle niceties; yea, that all they could bring was no ways concluding. Every one of their arguments, when it had been pressed to the full, in one whole session, and sometimes in two or three, were voiced, and found to be light, unanimously by all but themselves. By this means their credit did much fall in the city, who understood daily all we did, and found these men had got much more than fair play, a more free liberty than any innovators ever in any assembly, to reason their cause to the bottom; but farther in the country, who knew not the manner of our proceedings, their emissaries filled the ears of the people, that the assembly did cry down the truth with votes, and was but an Antichristian meeting, which would erect a presbytery worse than bishops.

For to remeid these evils, and to satisfy the minds of all, we thought meet to essay how far we could draw them in a private friendly way of accommodation; but Satan, the father of discord, had well near crushed that motion in the very beginning. After our first meeting, with some three of the assembly, Marshall, Palmer, Vines, and three of them, Goodwin, Burroughs, Bridges, with
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my Lord Wharton, Sir Harry Vane, and the Solicitor, in our house, and very fair appearances of pretty agreement, Mr Nye was like to spoil all our play. When it came to his turn in the assembly to opugn the presbytery, he had, from Matth. xviii. drawn in a crooked unformal way, which he never could get in a syllogism, the inconsistency of a presbytery with a civil state. In this he was cried down as impertinent. The day following, when he saw the assembly full of the prime nobles and chief members of both Houses, he did fall on that argument again, and very boldly offered to demonstrate, that our way of drawing a whole kingdom under one national assembly, is formidable; yea, thrice over pernicious to civil states and kingdoms. All cried him down, and some would have had him expelled the assembly as seditious. Mr Henderson showed, he spoke against the government of ours, and all the Reformed churches, as Lucian and the Pagans wont to stir up princes and states against the Christian religion. We were all highly offended with him. The assembly voted him to have spoken against the order; this is the highest of their censures. Maitland was absent; but enraged when he heard of it. We had many consultations what to do: at last, we were resolved to pursue it no further, only we would not meet with him, except he acknowledged his fault. The Independents were resolute not to meet without him, and he resolute to recal nothing of the substance of that he had said. At last, we were intreated by our friends, to shuffle it over the best way might be, and to go on in our business. God, that brings good out of evil, made that miscarriage of Nye a mean to do him some good; for, ever since, we find him, in all things, the most accommodating man in the company.

This, and sundry occurrences, have made the sails of that party fall lower. My Lord Sey's credit and reputation is none at all, which wont to be all in all. Sir Harry Vane, whatever be his judgement, yet less or more does not own them, and gives them no encouragement. No man I know, in either of the Houses, of any note, is for them. Sundry officers and soldiers in the army are fallen from their way to Antinomianism and Anabaptism, which burdens them with envy. Not any one in the assembly, when they have been heard to the full in any one thing, is persuaded by them; but all profess themselves to be

be more averſe from their ways than before. The brethren of New England incline more to ſynods and preſbyteries, driven thereto by the manifold late hereſies, ſchiſms, and factions, broken out among them; alſo the many pens that have fallen more ſharply than we on their Apologetick Narration. Theſe, and divers other accidents, have cooled ſomewhat of theſe mens fervour; above all, the letter from Holland has given them a great wound. Our good friend in Zealand gave to his neighbour ſo good information of all he heard from us here, that ſo ſoon as the claſſes of Wallachren did meet to conſult about the letter which this ſynod ſent to them, as to all the Reformed churches, they were very bent preſently to write an answer, in the which they fell flat and expreſsly upon the Independents, and their Apologetick Narration, ſhewing how far their way was contrary to the word of God, to the Reformed churches, and to all ſound reaſon. This was read openly in the face of the aſſembly, and in the ears of the Independents, who durſt not mute againſt it. It was appointed to be tranſlated into Engliſh, and ſent to be read in both Houſes of parliament, which was done accordingly. This has much vexed the minds of theſe men, and yet we expect from the ſynod of Zealand, now ſitting, more water to be put in their wine. It ſeems they are juſtly croſſed by God; for beſide all the error and great evil which is in their way, they have been the only men who have kept this poor church in an anarchy ſo long a time, who have preferred the advancement of their private new fancies to the kingdom of Chriſt, who have loſt many thouſand ſouls through the long confuſion occaſioned by their willfulneſs only, and the ſettling of the land, which their way hitherto has kept looſe and open, to the evident hazard of its ruin. Their ways, private and publick, have taken away from the moſt of beholders, the opinion which was of their more than ordinary piety and ingenuity: that now is gone. All this contributes to the peace of this church. While we came to prove the affirmative of our tenet anent the preſbytery, they jangled many days with us; but at laſt it was carried, and fundry ſcriptures were voiced alſo for that propoſition, to our great joy. In the debate, they let fall ſo much of their mind, that it was hoped they might come up, if not fully to our grounds, yet to moſt of our practical concluſions.

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For this end the assembly appointed a committee of four of them, and four of the assembly, to meet with us four, to see how far we could agree. We were glad that what we were doing in private should be thus authoris'd. We have met some three or four times already, and have agreed on five or six propositions, hoping, by God's grace, to agree in more. They yield, that a presbytery, even as we take it, is an ordinance of God, which hath power and authority from Christ, to call the ministers and elders, or any in their bounds, before them, to account for any offence in life or doctrine, to try and examine the cause, to admonish and rebuke, and if they be obstinate, to declare them as Ethnicks and publicans, and give them over to the punishment of the magistrates, also doctrinally to declare the mind of God in all questions of religion, with such authority as obliges to receive their just sentences; that they will be members of such fixed presbyteries, keep the meeting, preach as it comes to their turn, join in the discipline after doctrine. Thus far we have gone on without prejudice to the proceeding of the assembly. When we were going to the rest of the propositions concerning the presbytery, my Lord Manchester wrote to us from Cambridge, what he had done in the university, how he had ejected for gross scandals, the heads of five colleges, Dr Coofsings, Beel, Sterne, Ramborne, and another; that he had made choice of five of our number, to be masters in their places, Mr Palmer, Vines, Seaman, Arrowsmith, and our countryman Young, requiring the assembly's approbation of his choice; which was unanimously given; for they are all very good and able divines. Also, because of the multitude of scandalous ministers, he behoved to remove, he renewed to the assembly his former motion, anent the expediting of ordination. This has cast us on that head. We have voted sundry propositions of it. The last four sessions were spent upon an unexpected debate: Good Mr Calamy, and some of our best friends, fearing the Separatists objections, anent the ministry of England, as if they had no calling, for this reason, among others, That they were ordained without the people's election, yea, without any flock; for the fellows of their colleges are ordained ministers *sine titulo*, long before they are presented to any people; when we came therefore to the proposition, That no man should be ordained a minister without

without a designation to a certain church, they stilly maintained their own practice: yet we carried it this afternoon.

As for our Directory, the matter of prayer which we gave in, is agreed to in the committee. Mr Marshal's part, anent preaching, and Mr Palmer's, about catechising, though the one be the best preacher, and the other the best catechist, in England, yet we no way like it: so their papers are past in our hands to frame them according to our mind. Our paper anent the sacraments we gave in. We agreed, so far as we went, except in a table. Here all of them oppose us, and we them. They will not, and say the people will never yield to alter their practice. They are content of sitting, albeit not as of a rite institute; but to come out of their pews to a table, they deny the necessity of it: we affirm it necessary, and will stand to it. The Independents way of celebrating, seems to be very irreverent. They have the communion every Sabbath, without any preparation before or thanksgiving after: little examination of people: their very prayers and doctrine before the sacrament, use not to be directed to the use of the sacrament. They have, after the blessing, a short discourse, and two short graces over the elements, which are distributed and participate in silence, without exhortation, reading, or singing, and all is ended with a psalm, without prayer. Mr Nye told us his private judgement, that in preaching he thinks the minister should be covered, and the people discovered; but in the sacrament, the minister should be discovered, as a servant, and the guests all covered. For hasting of the assembly, we got many messages from the Houses; but all they can do, is to sit all the days of the week, except Saturday and Sunday, till one or two o'clock, and twice a week also in the afternoon; the other afternoons are for committees. However their speed be small, yet their labour is exceeding great, whereof all do expect a happy conclusion, and blessed fruits.—For the church you have enough.

As for the state, I take little notice of it; but the common reports are these. After the miscarriages of so many privy plots, these at Oxford essayed openly to divide the city and parliament by the colour of a subdolous treaty; for, so far as yet appears, there is no purpose there of any equitable peace; but the design for Popery and tyranny is

as fresh as ever. The first hopes was by the French ambassador, Prince d'Harcourt, to have drawn on a treaty, and so made a party among us for the King; but being peremptor not to give him permission to deal with the parliament as a true parliament, he trifled some time here and at Oxford, and went away, not satisfied with the council of Oxford, as merely Spanish. This marred the English ambassador at Paris; that however, by private contribution of bigot Papists, good sums of money were gotten, and employed on arms; yet no publick assistance could be obtained. Thus failing, the parchment subscribed by all the Lords and Commons at Oxford, came to my Lord of Essex; but the parliament being disregarded, that engine misgave also. To help this, another message came, for a pass to two obscure persons to come to Westminster for a treaty. The parliament still being neglected, there could be no dealing. At last, when it was certain that our army was in England, it was the wisdom of the Spanish junto, that the King should write to the Lords and Commons at Westminster, for a treaty with the Lords and Commons assembled in parliament at Oxford; and that the Dutch ambassadors (sent over by the Prince of Orange, really, as here is thought, to serve the King's ends) should, upon the back of these letters, offer their mediation. Notwithstanding of all this, their craft was pellucid; for the parliament was not yet acknowledged, and these of Oxford were made the Lords and Commons assembled in parliament. Intercepted letters shewed their extreme diligence to get from France and Spain, and the Irish rebels, what could be had of men, money, and arms. The Scots incendiaries at Oxford had drawn up and passed an horrible oath for holding us all for traitors. Commissions were given and money to Montrose, Sir John Henderson as Lieutenant, with the rest of that crew, to do mischief in Scotland; yea, before the Dutch ambassadors had well been set down in London, there followed them five votes of both Houses at Oxford, March 12. declaring, *nemine contradicente*, That the Lords and Commons at Westminster, and all who adhered to them, were guilty of high treason, and were to be pursued as traitors, for raising of arms, for counterfeiting of the great seal, for calling in of the Scots, for betraying the trust committed to them, and I know not what else. This put the parliament and city to very high thoughts of summoning

the King to join with his parliament against such a day, or else they would be necessitate to provide for the safety of the kingdom. Whence this came, we do not yet certainly know; but it puts us to great perplexity. Neither we nor any of our friends, were foreacquainted with any such motion. The General of himself proponed it in the morning, in the House of Lords, where all did assent; and without farther delay, that same forenoon, to the House of Commons, where all did presently assent; and before night the city was filled with the applause of that resolution, hoping it might bring the King from Oxford, or else nothing. But our commissioners had no such instructions; and though their commissions had extended so far, they conceived the summoning of the King to a day, with an alternative, was a point of the highest strain, which required longer deliberation. At the first we were looked upon, for our coldrifeness, with a strange eye by many; yet, ere forty-eight hours passed, we were cried up for wise men, and the motion was thought to have its rise either from great simplicity or deep malignancy. Our commissioners, after some debate in their committee, obtained, that the ordinance of both Houses should be altered, and their letter to the King put in that frame you see in print. Notwithstanding, the Dutch ambassadors are tampering for an accommodation, which, as things stand on all hands, can come to nothing; only the parliament is on a declaration, to shew their earnest desires for a solid and reasonable peace, but that these of Oxford have peace only in their mouths, and in all their actions and intentions cruel war more than ever.

For the better opposing force to force, the committee of both kingdoms is every day in consultation. The want of money is the only defect: many ways are projected for supply, which may bring in by time large sums; but for the present little can be had. However, our commissioners, every day, from three o'clock to seven or eight, and oft also in the forenoon, do attend, to hold them to their work. They have sent Sir William Balfour and Sir William Waller to the west towards Winchester. Hopeton and Prince Maurice, General Forth also, with all they can make, are preparing to meet them. As yet there has been no considerable action between them. Manchester is making to the fields, with their greatest army, from his associate counties. Sundry little places his forces, under
General

General Major Crawford and Cromwel, have taken lately in, and gone near to the ports of Oxford for preys; which make these so fear a siege, that the Queen is leaving the town to lie at Exeter; and if she can be admitted by the French, which yet is denied, to bear her child at Paris. The most of the Irish are quartered here and there about Gloucester; which is thought to be pinched with want both of ammunition and victuals. Sundry small attempts have been for its relief; but all in vain. If its wants grow extreme, they will send to it a stronger convoy. The greatest party they have together is under Meldrum at the siege of Newark. Long ago they expected the taking of that town, which is like to hold out longer than they may wait on. Prince Rupert hath been rambling up and down many shires; but all yet he has got together will not be able to raise the siege. It is written hither the other day from good hands, that some of his Irish troops having taken a castle in Shropshire, and signed a capitulation: notwithstanding, all that did render, to the number of twenty-seven men, when they were miserably beaten and wounded, were thrown in a dry pit, and earth cast above them. This burying quick is one of the unheard-of barbarities of the Irish. God will see to all these cruelties. The eyes of all are towards our army. The great God be with it, to put a quick end to the great miseries and dangers of all these dominions. We were comforted by the sundry clear passages of God's mercies towards them; that they got so easily over the Tyne and the Ware; that the enemy, who durst visit them in their quarters, were so infatuated by God as not to set upon them in their passage; that when their want of provision was almost extreme, there should come to them at Sunderland, both from London and Scotland, so much as to put them out of hazard of starving; that though the extremity of the tempest had cast away the barks with their provision, yet God should have sent such weather as made the Tyne passable, and that no longer than they were over. Many such passages are in the letters, which we see from the camp, that demonstrates the answer of our prayers in a part, and confirms our hope in the rest: though the difficulties yet be many, and far greater than any did expect; yet we think the Lord is but walking in his ordinary way, to let us fall in difficulties insuperable to us, to draw us near to him out of all self-confidence, that we may cry to Heaven, and

what deliverance comes it may be taken out of his hand. That very day, and these hours, when our army was passing the Tyne, the 28th of February, were we all here fasting and praying; and, among the rest, I was praying and preaching to the parliament; blessed be his name that gave us at the same hour so gracious an answer. The next week, when that happy solemn fast does return, we have much ado with the help of God; for every where the armies are near a-yoking. Waller and Balfour about Winchester are like to have a meeting with the greatest forces the King can make in these bounds. This night a post is gone to Cambridge, to cause Manchester go quickly to help Meldrum at Newark against Prince Rupert, who is hastening to relieve that siege. We expect to hear shortly of the event of our army's march, the 12th of this instant, from Sunderland towards Hartlepole. The success of these three expeditions now in hand may readily draw this longsome disease of our kingdoms towards some crisis. We have no hope but in the favour of God, who gives victories as he pleases to dispense. Our cause is good, The fruit of our victory would be the advancement of religion, the joy of all the godly, the settling of peace; but if God for our sin should yet put our enemies for a time above us, his will be done. The calumnies would be unreasonable, albeit the end of these should be happy. Oh! if we could be humbled before a further stroke; if we could wrestle by prayer; if we did believe; and, in whatever events, could patiently wait on the salvation of the Lord, whose ways are past finding out.

This much I had written long ago. Since fundry things are fallen out. The disaster at Newark was ascribed by some to my Lord Willoughby, of treachery for his envy to Manchester, and desire to see his forces there broken; others to the malecontentment of the Independent soldiers, who mutined; others to the slackness of Col. Cromwell, the great Independent, to send to Meldrum timely relief. But when all is well considered, and Sir John Meldrum's own letters looked upon, it seems his own improvidence alone has procured that mischief. He could not rest till, by importunity, he had extorted a commission to besiege that town. He assured, in every letter after he lay down, to carry it in five or six days. When it was told him of Prince Rupert's coming, he wrote of it hither, but as not believing it. When he was assured of his coming,

ming, he would not rise, but would fight him in the field. When he was assured of his being within eight miles, with 7000 or 8000 effective men, he drew the council of war to a foolish conclusion, to make good the Isle of Trent, for one day to keep the place where he lay, and a bridge on the other side of the Isle, whither they would retire at night, and cut the bridge, and so retire in safety. But the first thing the enemy did was to enter Newark, and by it the Isle, and to lay themselves down betwixt Sir John and the bridge; who presently made a parley to be founded, and a shameful capitulation to be closed, to render cannon, munition, musquet, pistol, and all fire-weapons; but attour, all arms, colours, money, and cloaths, almost all pulled off them; and so one of the most considerable parts of our forces clean dissipated. Sir John, with 2000 naked foot, came to Hull; whence he wrote the story yesterday, not in so humble terms as his condition requires. They say, the rest went to Lincoln and Gainsborough, but at once left both these places to the enemy, with thirty pieces of good cannon, what there, and what in their camp, and 3000 or 4000 arms. This fearful stroke, I hope, it shall do good. It has much wakened the hearts of many to draw near to God, and bestir themselves with more diligence. The General has got money to recruit his army to 7000 foot and 3000 horse. So soon as he is ready, the city assures to join other 10,000 to him for the siege of Oxford. In the mean time, Balfour, General of the horse, and Waller, Lientenant-General of the western associations, are near Winchester, with 7000 or 8000 men. Forth and Hopeton are there with a greater number. If any disaster should befall Waller, our danger here were present and great. Manchester has drawn all his forces towards Lincoln to oppose Prince Rupert's progress; but the main chance is in the north, for which our hearts are trinkling. Our letter yesternight from the leaguer at Sunderland shewed, that on Sunday last, while our perplexity was great for horse-meat, and we were in a great doubt what to do; to stay there was to starve our horse; to send our horse back over Tyne, without our foot with them, was to lose Sunderland, our sea-port, which brought us provision. While we are on these thoughts, our enemies draw near with all their forces, and set themselves down in a place of advantage. On Sunday at night, and Monday morning, we were skirmishing. The ground made it hard

hard for us to set on; but our necessities put us on. The great God assist us. Lumfden was come over the water, with 3000 more men. On Monday, the 25th of this instant, these letters came away. We know no more, but with passion are expecting good news. We wonder your ambassadors should be dreaming of any treaty; since every other day, after their coming from Oxford, this parliament there, with vote upon vote, with declaration after declaration, are made traitors, rebels, and all evil can be imagined. The parliament here, to put off them that very groundless scandal which they at Oxford strove to put upon them, have put out a declaration of their great desire of peace, and of the invincible obstacles laid in their way to it. However, your ambassadors seem over-ready to have proven very unhappy instruments to have divided the two nations, and raised a new party here for the King, and divided both Houses; but I hope God has prevented them. The propositions for treaty were really answered by the declaration of both Houses, That they, by the late votes at Oxford, being declared traitors, were made incapable to treat; yet they resolved, according to the overture made by us long ago, to advise on propositions, without which they could not proceed. These the lower house did agree to refer to the higher, to the committee of both kingdoms; but the higher house resolved to have a new committee of Lords and Commons to join with our commissioners, alledging, the former committee, which was carried over their bellies, was only for managing of the war; but for the treaty of peace they have another, Pembroke and Salisbury, who disdained they were of the first, and below Hollis, Reynolds, Clotworthy, did much urge a second committee; and all these who loved division seconded this motion. Here it has stood some days; but after the disaster at Newark, your commissioners struck the iron when it was hot, and pressed a further and far more unhappy point, to have a treaty without us. On Saturday last they did so far advance this desperate motion, that the House of Commons were divided about it in two equal halves; so that division was referred to the honest Speaker; who carried it right, that they were obliged, not only to conclude, but not to begin, a treaty without the Scots. On this fearful debate they sat till three o'clock in the afternoon; so far did your unhappy agents from Oxford and the Hague prevail. But, behold! before half

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an hour after three, there came news which made their ears to tingle. God answered our Wednesday's prayers. Balfour and Waller had got a glorious victory over Forth and Hopeton, and routed them totally, horse and foot. All since are exercised to raise money to that victorious army, and men, to assist them to pursue that great and timeous victory. We were sinking; but God has taken us by the hand, and filled us with hope. On Sunday, March 25. and Monday, Lesly and Newcastle, with all their forces, were skirmishing. We think ere this they will have a battle: we are in hope of good news. We expect good from the synod of Zealand. We wish they may consider their giving of excommunication to every congregation.—

46. To Mr David Dickson and Mr Robert Ramsay only.

Reverend and Dear,

THE Lord is yet going on here after his wonted way: he gives us no more ground of outward hope than is compassed with just reasons of fear, and tries us with no more matter of fear than he sets about with evident grounds of hope. My publick letter has the best of the outside of our affairs. This to you, who can bear it, and make your own good use of it, shall have the worst of the inside. However in all outward accommodations, and civil respects, from all kinds of men, we are all here served as princes, and, which is sweeter, the very gracious and loving fellowship of all the company, continues to this hour of every one towards us, without the smallest frown in any thing, less or more, which was never so here before in any commission; yet the publick affairs, both of church and state, beside the daily weight of their care, gives to us all fundry heavy and perplexed nights, for fear of their miscarriage. After we had been ignorant altogether what had passed in the north from the 19th of March, we got, on the 18th of this instant, letters from Sunderland, written the 11th, which did much discourage them here, but we made the best of all we could, That our army, after two months abode in England, had done so little; that they had left the siege of Newcastle; that when the enemy came to their quarters, they let them go without fighting; that their provision of victuals is so extremely small; that their monies and munition is so inlacking; that so great an
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inlacking was in the ministers to come out with the regiments, and so much misorder among the soldiers, as some English hands write to their friends. It is good that our worldly hopes should be lopped; for all here thought all was done, if once the Scots had passed the Tweed. We are extremely longing, to see if God may be pleased to work by us when we are much lower in our own and others eyes than we were. Our friends are sad; our enemies speak and write contemptuously. Our eyes are towards the Lord. Our countryman Sir John Meldrum very unhappily has lien down before Newark, with such forces as might have overcome all Yorkshire, and come on Newcastle's back, for our great comfort. Though his error be palpable, yet he is so tender of his reputation, that he will not rise, though there be no hope of carrying it; yea, it is like to draw Prince Rupert with a great strength upon him; and we are afraid, if his troops break, that Prince Rupert, with a victorious army, turn himself after to the ruining of the associate counties, or join with Newcastle against us. Hopeton is coming, on the other hand, with all the power of the west, and Forth has joined to him all that he can make. Balfour and Waller are gone to meet them at the beginning with small forces, and small unanimity; but both now are greater. In all these three, it is like, long ere this come to you, there will be a battle of great consequence for the whole affair. The great Lord arise, and help us; for every where the enemy is much stronger than we expected. Their wickedness is in nothing relented; their sermons and pamphlets breathe nothing but the old ways of error, superstition, Episcopacy, absolute monarchy, to which in no case resistance by any may be made; in none of them any appearance of remorse of any thing past. This people here, exhausted with exactions, can find no means for any considerable sums; their navy cannot be put out; their General cannot be got recruited; we can get no money for the desperate extremes of Ireland; their publick faith is gone; no foreign state, nor private merchant, will own them; a subdolous crafty faction is still working here underhand. This makes them so full of confidence at Oxford, that they give us all for gone; only they send their agents of Holland to speak for a peace; thereby to amuse the people, and increase the malignant party in number and courage. The ways of the parliament are endless and confused, full of jealousy and other faults. The unhappy Independents

keep all the matters of the church so loose, that there is no appearance of any short settling. The preface of my sermon has put some edge on the assembly for a quicker dispatch; but the nature itself of their way is so wofully longsome, that it is almost impossible to be shortened. The number and evil humour of the Antinomians and Anabaptists doth increase. In a word, things here are in a hard condition. I have acquainted you herewith, that we may remember hereafter, when God has appeared for us, from how great depths he has lifted us up. We truly do expect, from the goodness and mercy of our God, though this stupid and secure people are no ways fitted for a deliverance, if we look to justice, yet, that for his name's sake, the truth, and handful of the godly, that he will arise. So much the more is it needful that God should haste, as we hear of a storm that may arise among you in your north, and elsewhere, by the pestiferous malignants and malecontents; also from your Irish army, if they be not satisfied, and the Irish rebels on their back. All these will be matters of God's praise, when he has let them appear, and rear upon us, but incontinent, by the chain of his providence, has drawn them backward for their confusion. I hope to keep the general assembly with you at Edinburgh. We are all, for our private, well, blessed be God. How all is with you, I know not: but that broil about Mr Hugh Blair I wish were some way composed; but being so far from the place, I cannot tell how. The matter of our present debates in our assembly, is the people's interest in their minister to be ordained. We hope to give light to these scabrous questions. For the commentars you speak of, there are few new ones, except the Jesuits, Santius, and Ribera, and some others. If the college have a mind to these, or any other books, I shall be careful to get them; but as yet I have not a scrap for any such end; and now, if they write for any, when my money is spent, they must send me up from Robert English, or some other, a note, to be answered in their name, in so much money as they have a mind to spend. After the writing hereof, this Sunday, March 24. we are all afflicted with sad news from Newark. Sir John Meldrum by all means would besiege Newark, and gave assurance to all, day after day, to carry it; yet it is so fallen out, whether by base cowardice or treachery, that his whole camp, near 5000 or 6000, after a little skirmish, have rendered themselves

to the enemy, being fewer in number: a grievous and disgraceful stroke. The certainty of the particulars we have not yet; but such another stroke will make this people faint, except God bless the Scots army. Yet this fore stroke puts many to their knees who were in a deep sleep, and we hope there will be a wrestling with God the next Wednesday. This is a fearful alarm. Let God do all his will: yet I must say his people and cause are on our side; and on the others, patrons of oppression, profanity, and Popery, whom God cannot bless to the end. God send us better news; for the time our anxiety is very great. The bearer is not yet gone. As all former disasters, so this I hope shall do us good. Yesterday was a gracious day of prayer. Manchester has done all diligence to draw down his forces; and we trust is so strong, that Prince Rupert shall make small use of his advantage at Newark. Though Hopeton and Sir Jacob Ashly be strong at Winchester, yet Balfour and Waller foreanent, with more resolute forces. The parliament is much wakened. Essex at last is going to the field, with 10,000 good men. It was no ways his fault but he had been recruited long ago. The admiral is making out, with forty good ships. I hope to-day or to-morrow we shall present (as on Monday it was appointed) in the assembly our model of a presbyterial ordination presently to be put in practice. After a thick darkness God will send light.

47. *For Mr Robert Blair. March 26. 1644.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

I have written nothing to you all this time, partly not knowing certainly where you were, and mostly because my sweet colleague Mr Samuel informed you of all I had to say. Thanks to God, never colleagues had a great harmony; for to this hour not the least difference, the smallest eyelift betwixt any of us, either state or church commissioners, in any thing, either private or publick, which you know is rare in societies, makes our fellowship much the sweeter. We have written a publick letter to you, to advise, if you think meet, to call any of us home to the general assembly. All of us will take it for the call of God, whatever you resolve of our stays or goings. It is like, about that time, there shall be more to do here
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than before; for the delays of the Independents importunities has been wonderful, which now, I hope, are drawing near an end; and very likely, about that very time of the assembly, if God cast not in unexpected impediments, we may be about the highest points both of government and worship, the erecting of our presbytery, and putting our votes in practice, and settling of a directory, wherein we have yet got little thing done, and much is here ado. These things are so high, and of so great concernment, that no living man can think Mr Henderson may be away; and to put him to go and return, it were very hard to venture such a jewel, that is so necessary to the well-being both of church and state of all these dominions. Mr Samuel, for the great parts God has given him, and special acquaintance with the question in hand, is very necessary to be here; especially because of his book, which is daily enlarging, and it will not come off the press yet for some time. It is very like, whenever it comes out, it shall have some short affronting reply; and judge now if it be not necessary that he should be here to answer for himself. Mr G. Gillespie, however I had a good opinion of his gifts, yet I profess he has much deceived me. Of a truth there is no man whose parts in a publick dispute I do so admire. He has studied so accurately all the points ever yet came to our assembly, he has gotten so ready, so assured, so solid a way of publick debating, that however there be in the assembly divers very excellent men, yet, in my poor judgement, there is not one who speaks more rationally, and to the point, than that brave youth has done ever; so that his absence would be prejudicial to our whole cause, and unpleasant to all here that wishes it well. I know none of our company who can be spared but myself; for I find that my studies in these questions have been so small, and my parts so weak, that I have not taken the boldness to dispute publickly in the assembly; but, after the example of a great many, far in all things my betters, even the two or three parts, or more, of the assembly, I have been but an hearer; so my presence might well be dispensed with. I confess the danger I was in, in both my voyages by sea, makes me wish I might not be put again to sea, but have a land-way opened; and that I see not what I could report or do in the assembly, which might not every way as well, and in some regard better, be done by writ; yet I am very willing, if so it be

thought meet, to come, at whatever time, through whatsoever dangers, to obey your directions. This much I thought meet to signify to you. The private estate of our affairs, that you may be the better instructed for your publick advice, whatever shall be resolved, all of us, and, by God's grace, none more than myself, shall be willing to give ready obedience. So praying God to be with your army, whereupon the eyes of the godly are fixed, as the means which they hope God will bless for their deliverance from great sufferings and greater fears, I rest your loving brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE,

48. *To Mr George Young.*

George,

— We have written down a publick letter first, and thereafter to the same purpose to Mr Robert Douglas in the army, as you have in the inclosed. The effect of these letters may be the calling of some of us down to the general assembly. None more willing to be at home than I, for sundry reasons I could shew you; yet I see not how I could come conveniently to the assembly. I foresee, if any be called for, or if it be remitted to ourselves to send any, it must fall on me; for Mr Alexander here can no ways be spared. Mr Samuel's great book against the Independents will be but then coming out, and it were very inexpedient he should be away at this time. Mr George is such an excellent disputer in our assembly, that our affairs would suffer if he were absent but for one month: so I think truly, if any must come, it can be no other than myself. You see we remit it to the commissioners of the church to call for us in time, if the assembly shall sit for any time, and if they think it necessary. I must intreat you to be in Edinburgh at the next meeting of the commissioners of the church, and to see well to this matter, which concerns me nearly. If you call for me, I will readily obey; otherwise I could wish to stay some longer; for, if it might be, I desire not to come alone to the general assembly, and certainly no man can be permitted to come with me. I can make no report which may not better be made by writ. By all appearance, we will have nothing ready against that time,
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and about that time the service here is like to be greatest; for many things here will be mature, and about Lambas, I hope, ready to be closed. I was in so evident hazard of my life, in both my sea-voyages, that I wish to return by land, and no way is like to be so soon opened: also, if now I should come down, I see a necessity of returning; for the service here in the family twice a-day, and preaching every Sabbath, let be the daily attendance on the assembly of twice a-day, is so great, that I know my colleagues will, by their letters, urge a return for their own relief; and you may consider if a voyage from London to Edinburgh, and from Edinburgh to London, be desirable in such a time, when fundry of our Scots ships are taken by sea, and no land-way is open. I could tell you more, why it were not fit I were away when the whole points of our directory are to be transacted. These things I commit to you alone, to be made use of as you see fit; but without shewing to any that you had the least signification of any of these things from me. What you do here, as from yourself alone, must be done quickly; for the first meeting of the commission will determine of my stay or coming: I remit it to the providence of God. It was much against my mind I came here; but since God sent me, he has been most graciously present with me to this hour in every thing. However my coming down alone at this time, would seem very inconvenient, and full of hazard; yet if you call for me, I trust God will be still with me. The Lord be with you. Your brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

Prince Rupert has made no use of his advantage at Newark. He is returned with all speed to Oxford; for they are there in great fear of a siege. Waller, after his victory, has got Winchester and Salisbury. Reading is left, and the work slighted. John Stuart, and more officers, are dead of their wounds. The King, in person, is expected to be on the fields, with all he can make, within two or three days, to stop Waller's progress; also to make the Queen's journey to Bristol safe. All diligence is here used to supply Waller with men and money, and to send the General to the field with a great army of his own. The Admiral goes to sea one of these days, with forty good ships. We are in good hopes shortly to get L. 20,000 for our army, and also good sums for our Irish

Irish forces. We dare not believe what yesterday came through all the city, of our routing Newcastle's army, and besieging his person in Durham. We have great wrestling with the Independents, yet we hope all shall conclude well, for daily we gain ground. Lothian is exchanged with Goring, and now lies at our house, in the Chancellor's chamber, in good health. As for Hamilton, we can hear nought from him at Pendennis. We have, on Tuesday next, a solemn thanksgiving for Waller's victory. Young Fairfax is at last come to Yorkshire with 2000 horse and dragoons.

49. *To Mr William Spang. April 12. 1644.*

Reverend and Dear Cousin,

BEING informed that sundry of your post-letters were broken up by the way, I wrote to you under another name; but finding that all mine are come safe to your hand, I need not, I think, use any more that disguise. I have got yours with the two last posts. All our company think themselves obliged to you. When Thomas Cunningham went from this to our army, I gave him, to you, my sermon, and a large letter. He is to have a commission from our state to your state. It is the great justice of God, that Denmark is thus handled; and we take it for a good providence, that Ragotski has at last fallen on the Emperor; but a pity it was no sooner. We are glad that the war of Italy is like to continue; that Spain, on all hands, has so much to do, as we are free of his evil. Matters here, both of church and state, are in a strange posture. We are oft put to our knees to cry to God. The unhappy, and unamendable prolixity of this people, in all their affairs, except God work extraordinarily, is like to undo them. They can put nothing to any point, either of church or state. We are vexed and overwearied with their ways. God help them, and our poor land, which by their unhappy and sottish laziness is like to be in great hazard. Huntly, after he found that Aberdeen had sitten still, when a small number of his emissaries had come in, and first taken away their magistrates, and then their money, he has come and seated himself in that unhappy town, as the King's Lieutenant in the north. It had been easy for them, with Marischal's horse,

horse, to have crush'd that feeble, effeminate, foolish Atheist; but now it will cost blood to defeat him. Some five regiments are making towards him. On our south border, Niddisdale, Dumfries, Aboyne, Montrose, Ogilbie, are with some 600 horse; against these openly wicked men, some power is directed also. The three regiments that came of their own head from Ireland, are now very welcome. The Marquis of Antrim, (for honour now is the reward of misdeserving), with a great army, is marching towards Monro, with the relicks of our army. God be there; else, if they be defeat, it will be very ill for Scotland. To remeid these evils, a convention of estates sits at Edinburgh. Argyle is gone thither from our army, to see all go right. The excise was very unhappy: it is the pretext for malecontents to stir; for though every one of these last eight days we have been deaved with news of a great and bloody battle in the north, wherein Newcastle is totally routed; yet, so far as we can learn, there is no such matters. Our most earnest prayers are for God's help. There be great gatherings here of all the King and the parliament can make. A great and bloody battle is shortly expected. No possibility of peace. Your ambassadors continue to be unhappy instruments of dangerous divisions. I cannot tell you what to say of the assembly. We are almost desperate to see any thing concluded for a long time. Their way is wofully tedious. Nothing, in any assembly that ever was in the world, except Trent, like to them in prolixity. Particulars you shall have with the next. This day was read the answers of the divines of Hesse-Cassel. We were very dissatisfied with their letter: it was but a poor short epistle, all spent upon lamenting their own miseries, and in the little they spoke to our point, giving us unseasonable and very unfavoury counsel, not to meddle with the bishops. We marvelled the less at this, reading the subscription only of cathedral-men, a superintendent, some archdeacons and deacons of a cathedral. You know Mr Peters better than to marvel at any thing he writes; all here takes him for a very imprudent and temerarious man. I fear upon some of his passages this day, that his malapert rashness prove very dangerous to this church and state. For to understand the fruits of Independency, read this pamphlet. Mr Gillespie and Mr Rutherford's books, when I came here first, I sent them to you; but

by

by whom, I now remember not. In two or three of my letters, I intreated you to borrow for me from Rivet, Morellius, and Sadael against him, the tenets of Independents. You know I wrote to you the great harm of that clause of your Wallachren letter, of the entire power of government in the hands of congregational presbyteries, except in cases of alteration and difficulty, &c. Not only the Independents make use of it publicly against us, but some of our prime men, Mr Marshall by name, upon it, and Voetius, who from Parker has the same, dissents from us, giving excommunication, and, which is more, ordination, to our sessions in all ordinary cases. If you can get this helped in the Zealand letter, it will be well; for one of our divines, in face of the assembly, Seaman by name, has been forced to decline with all reverence your authority, saying that Voetius was but one man, and the classes of Wallachren but one class; that the acts of your general assembly, and harmony of confessions, gives the power of excommunication and ordination in ordinary cases to your classes, and not to your parochial consistories.

End of the FIRST VOLUME.

E R R A T A.

V O L. I.

In page 4. line 16. in some copies, *for* Rolloh *read* Rollock; p. 35. l. 15.; p. 54. l. 42.; p. 95. l. 12.; p. 101. l. 2.; p. 110. l. 44.; p. 118. l. 24.; p. 137. l. 36.; p. 177. l. 1.; p. 202. l. 41.; p. 297. l. 36. 37.; p. 299. l. 15.; p. 303. l. 5.; p. 314. l. 17.; p. 335. l. 40. in all these *for* Pollock *read* Rollock.

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145.	5.	voicers	voices
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ERRATA.

V O L. II.

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281.	27.	Duke	Duke,
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293.	1.	the tower	the tower,
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Letters and Journals

Bd.: 1

Edinburgh (1775)

Brit. 35 s-1

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